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LETTERS

ON

THE UNITED PROVINCES

OF

South America,

ADDRESSED TO THE

HON. HENRY CLAY,

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE U. STATES.

BY

DON VICENTE PAZOS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH

BY

PLATT H. CROSBY, ESQ.



NEW-YORK:

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Southern District of New-York, ss.

BE it remembered, that on the twenty-fourth day of March, in the 43d year of the Independence of the United States of America, PLATT H. CROSBY, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Proprietor, in the words following, to wit:—

“ Letters on the United Provinces of South America, addressed to the Hon Henry Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, by Don Vicente Pazos, translated from the Spanish, by Platt H. Crosby. Esq.”

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled “ An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned:” And also to an Act, entitled “ An Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled an Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.”

JAMES DILL,

Clerk of the Southern District of New-York.

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ADVERTISEMENT.



5-1925

DON VICENTE PAZOS, the author of the following Letters, is a native of Upper Peru: much therefore, of what he describes, is the familiar recollections of his childhood, or the results of his maturer knowledge, and of personal observation.

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In his rapid sketch of the revolution of the United Provinces of South America, there are many scenes in which he has borne a part, either as an actor or sufferer, and which are therefore too deeply imprinted on his memory to be easily forgotten;—for the rest, for every fact which is not already history, he relies upon authentic information, and public documents.

Annals of U.S.

I learn from him, that he was induced to address these letters to the Hon. Henry Clay, from sentiments of private friendship, of respect for his public character as the chief of the popular and representative branch of the government of the United States, and because he was the first to raise his voice in our national Legislature in favour of South American Independence.

The Map of the United Provinces of South America, which accompanies this volume, was delineated by the ingenious Mr. E. W. Bridges, City Surveyor, and engraved by those distinguished artists, Messrs. Maverick and Durand. It is compiled from the most recent and approved maps

and charts of South America, whose errors, where they have been discovered, have been carefully corrected, and whose omissions have been supplied from the author's topographical knowledge of the country.

For the manner in which this work has been translated, I am answerable; it has not been accomplished without much labour, nor without the waste of many hours, taken from business or relaxation;—in the progress of which I have been cheered, by the reflection that I was aiding to disseminate among my fellow-citizens, the knowledge of a country, the most interesting, perhaps, of any on the globe, but which, like the Herculaneum of antiquity, has been buried for centuries beneath the accumulated lavas of oppression, ignorance and superstition.

The following pages point out to the enterprising a boundless scope for the employment of industry, and the display of talent; to commercial men, new objects and channels of trade; to the friend of man, a noble field for the exercise of benevolence; to the friend of God, a splendid theatre for the labours of the Missionary;—a region where the fountain of living waters has never gushed, nor the tree of life taken root.

I flatter myself that whoever shall peruse this volume, will lay it down with the conviction, that his time has been employed, neither unpleasantly nor unprofitably.

PLATT H. CROSBY.

New-York, March 20, 1819.

PREFACE.

THE struggles which the Patriots of South America are making to establish their independence, have attracted the attention, and deeply interested the sympathies, of the world. Until very lately, the abundant resources of this country, and its unparalleled salubrity of climate, have been regarded, without being entirely disbelieved, as the fables of romance, rather than realities. Few had any interest in the truth, and fewer still had the disposition to investigate it. Investigation would indeed have been unprofitable, and at all events laborious, and without the prospect of future advantage; and the fairest portion of the globe, the most inviting to the adventurer, and the man of science; the most auspicious to the developement of genius, and the prosecution of industry; has been known only through the muddy channels of information which the worst of governments, and of religions, have from time to time thrown open to the world.

A happier star seems to have risen upon this oppressed country, to preside over its destinies, and to conduct the people in their march towards moral greatness; to attain which, nothing but the incarceration of the mind could have repressed their ardour, or stifled their aspirations. The glorious work of political and religious emancipation is going on simultaneously with the removal of ignorance, apathy, and prejudice,—obstacles formidable indeed, but which the spirit of independence will finally overcome. The termination of the contest now waging, in Peru especially, may be anticipated at an early day; its triumphant issue is so clearly foreseen, that anxiety is barely kept awake, and hope not permitted to slumber. The strong arm of power cannot subdue the energies of a high-minded people, when roused in the cause of their independence, and directed to the overthrow of an odious and humiliating domination. Defeat may damp the ardour of resistance, and smother the flame which it cannot extinguish; but passions, which have long been restrained, will sooner or later burst their barriers, and bear down every thing in their fury.

The independence of the whole of the United Provinces, except those of Upper Peru, has been so long established, and the ability

and determination of the people to maintain it, have been so fully displayed, that incredulity is hushed, and doubt has vanished away. They exercise all the rights of sovereignty, and possess all its advantages, with the exception of their recognition by other nations. This policy of the European governments, however it may have originated, has been pursued by the United States ;—with what wisdom will not here be made the subject of inquiry, as it would lead into the mazes of politics, further than is either prudent or desirable, and it is a subject of all others, perhaps. upon which the writer would be heard with the least complacency. Without exposing himself to the hazards which overhang that troubled ocean, he may be indulged in a few remarks. The present embarrassed, it might be said distracted, state of commerce in Europe and the United States, affords strong grounds for believing, that former sources of trade are in a degree becoming exhausted ; and in a state of profound peace, like the present, when nations are permitted to pursue their interests and policy undisturbed, competition alone will bear heavily upon commercial profits. In such a state of things, some nations must change their habits and policy, or search out new channels, and pursue new objects of

trade. But it is no easy thing to convert the whole commercial capital of a nation into agricultural and manufacturing channels, or, indeed, to make any other general appropriation of it; and it is no ordinary transformation, to change the character, and the habits of thinking and acting, of a large and wealthy portion of the inhabitants of a country. The pursuit of new objects of trade, whenever they can be discovered, is the easiest and safest way to counteract commercial torpor, and re-animate declining trade. New branches of trade, besides benefitting the world at large, have invariably stimulated the enterprise, and quickened the industry of those countries which have embraced them. Viewed in these lights, the emancipation of South America is of the first importance to the commercial world, but particularly to Great Britain and the United States.

The Banda Oriental, Entre Rios, and Paraguay;--all that portion of the United Provinces, situated on the east of the river La Plata, with the exception of the city of Montevideo,--are in the hands of the Patriots. This place in its turn must yield before the arms of that brave and indefatigable commander, General Artigas; and when that event shall happen, which cannot be long delayed, the

whole of the trade of the La Plata, and its numberless tributary streams, will be opened to the world.

The independence of Chili has been for some time established, and the Spanish authorities are now subverted in every part of that country. The prospects of that brave people are far brighter than were those which animated the hopes, and strengthened the zeal of their Atlantic neighbours. Buenos Ayres had to contend single-handed; Chili was not only encouraged by her example, but aided by her troops, who were disciplined, and inured to the fatigues and privations of war. Chili is better protected from hostile attack, and may, with greater certainty, calculate upon maintaining her present stand.

Peru possesses, in common with Chili, many advantages over Buenos Ayres. It is at present subjected to the Spanish government, but the day cannot be far distant, when, aided by the victorious arms of Buenos Ayres and Chili, it will achieve its independence. The resources of this country are so abundant, that a long continued war there, would be productive of no other waste than that of human blood.

The power of Spain in South America, totters to its foundation; and, as it grows more

feeble, the number and the zeal of its enemies will increase. The Spanish cabinet is aware of the situation of the revolted Provinces, and that an important crisis is at hand. The United Provinces are pledged, before the world, to make peace with Spain, if she will acknowledge their independence. Commissioners have been sent to Europe to open negotiations upon this subject, and it has even been proposed to the Spanish court, through the interposition of Great Britain, to receive one of the royal family as Sovereign of South America. This act of humanity, to stop the effusion of blood, was treated with contempt by the court of Madrid, and even regarded as a “high insult to his Catholic Majesty,” who, instead of acceding to a proposition so magnanimous on the part of the colonies, and so beneficial to himself, has drawn his sword to maintain his imaginary sovereignty, as *King of the Indies*; a title which can only be compared to that of *King of Jerusalem*, and “which hangs as loose about him, as a giant’s robe upon a dwarfish thief.”

What now remains for the colonies to do, in order to ensure their own safety, and preserve those sacred rights, which the God of nature has implanted in every breast?--What, but to conquer peace with the sword; to carry

the war to the last extremity, regardless of the blood and treasure it may cost, until not a vestige of the Spanish government shall remain. Of the absurdity of the efforts of tyrants to keep a nation of brave men in perpetual slavery, it is unnecessary to speak; and equally absurd is it, to suppose that men who have unsheathed their swords against their Sovereign, will return, after ten years of revolution and bloody war, to the abject condition of colonies. Every day strengthens and emboldens the patriots, and brings tidings of their progressive success. Their resentment against their oppressors burns stronger and stronger as they approach, in imagination, the object of their desires; and the Spanish monarchy will probably never be so weak as at the present time, both in the old world, and in the new. It stands like a blasted oak upon the barren heath, whose branches are dropping off, one after another, and whose decayed and sapless trunk will be prostrated to the dust, by the first rude blast of popular fury.



LETTERS, &c.

PART I.

LETTER I.

TO THE HONOURABLE HENRY CLAY, &c. &c.

SIR,

THE Republic of the United Provinces of South America comprehends, with some exceptions, the same territory as the Vice-Royalty of Rio de la Plata, which was established in 1778. It extends from the 16th to the 45th degree of south latitude; from the left margin of the Lake Titicaca, which lies between the two Cordilleras of Peru, on the north, to the coast of Patagonia, on the south. It is bounded on the west by the vice-royalty of Peru, the Pacific Ocean, from which it is separated by the coast of Atacama at the 23d degree of south latitude, and from Chili by the mountains of the Andes; and on the east and north, by the Atlantic Ocean, the dominions of Brazil, the establishments of the missions of Paraguay, Chiquitos, and the independent Indians of

the river Amazon and its borders: The whole forming an extent of territory which stretches through twenty-nine degrees of latitude, embracing almost every variety of climate, productions, and people; and rising towards the west into an elevated soil and lofty mountains, whose bases extend into immense plains, which terminate on the Atlantic Ocean.

This region is divided principally into Upper Peru and Rio de la Plata, properly so called, which commences at the foot of the mountains at Jujui, under the tropic of Capricorn; the former comprehending the Provinces of Potosi, Charcas or La Plata, Cochabamba, La Paz, Santa Cruz de la Sierra or Puno, Moxos, and Chiquitos; and the latter, Buenos Ayres, Banda Oriental, Entre Rios, Corrientes, Paraguay, Cordova, Mendoza or Cuyo, Salta, and Tucuman.

The Provinces of Banda Oriental, Corrientes, Entre Rios, and Paraguay, which lie on the east and north of the river La Plata, are not included in the Union, and of these, together with the other provinces of Rio de la Plata, I shall speak more particularly in a subsequent part of these letters.

Before entering upon the moral and physical history of this country, it may be interesting briefly to notice the political convulsions which have taken place there, and the spirit which prevailed among the people previous to 1810, the era of the present revolution.

The cruelties inflicted by the Spanish government upon the people of South America, whenever

they have manifested a spirit of independence and reform in the administration, afford the clearest evidence that there has always existed in their hearts an unextinguishable love of liberty and political independence. At different epochs in their history, although buried in ignorance, and for the most part tranquil under the pressure of despotism, there have been exhibited those violent convulsions, which, while they redoubled the vigilance of the Spanish government, at the same time gave warning, that sooner or later an explosion would burst forth and spread desolation and death among the tyrants of South America.

The history of this people contains facts, which, notwithstanding they are involved in some obscurity, teach us the important and interesting truth, that mankind are ever disposed to meliorate their condition, and that tyranny has for ever strove to stifle the voice of reason, which, pervading all ages and climes with firm though tardy steps, will finally establish her throne on its ruins. It is an historical fact, that in the year 1725, in a remote and distant corner of the civilized world, and in the colony of a government as despotic perhaps as any that ever existed in Europe, the true and fundamental principles of free government were understood and publicly proclaimed; I mean in Paraguay. In this secluded part of South America, which had no communication with any of the free and enlightened nations of the world, a government was established, which was founded upon a representation of the people, and recognized as the basis of its

institutions, the republican principle, that all power emanates from the people. A phenomenon in politics this, which has escaped the knowledge of historians and philosophers, but which has happily come to light in our own times, in spite of the efforts of tyranny to conceal it.

The Province of Paraguay, by reason of its local situation, the establishments of the Jesuits within its territory, and the turbulence of which they were the cause; the suspicious, crafty, and independent genius of the natives—forms a separate and distinct branch of the history of Rio de la Plata, and I shall notice it no further at present than it has an immediate connexion with my subject.

The principal historian of this country, Charlevoix, was a Jesuit, and consequently partial to that religious order which was composed of his companions and brothers. He was inspired with all that intolerant and exclusive spirit which so strongly characterized that sect; and it is therefore natural enough that he should present in his history an unfavourable picture of the enemies of the Jesuits, and represent them as the enemies of the public tranquillity, and as rebels. It is not therefore surprising that Antequera should appear in his history as unworthy of the rank which he held in public opinion in South America; nor that he should express himself with so much bitterness against Antequera and the *Comuneros*, or representatives of Paraguay, if we consider that he wrote at a period when there was nobody to con-

tradict or expose him, and under the powerful protection of the Spanish court, which would have punished with the greatest severity, all who dared to justify their conduct: but it certainly is surprising that Dean Funes, who wrote nearly a century after Charlevoix, in an age of light and liberty, should follow, without criticism and with so much apparent servility, every thing which he found in the writings of this Jesuit. This circumstance can only be attributed to that veneration which he no doubt retains in his old age for the Jesuits, in whose college at Cordova he was educated, and to those monkish habits and predilections which he there acquired,—a melancholy proof, indeed, of the force of habit upon the independence and integrity of the human mind!

To avoid the errors of these writers, it is necessary, in relating the history of Antequera, and of the revolution of which he was the leader, to refer to public transactions at Lima, and to authentic documents in the possession of his connexions there, upon whom the Spanish government, as a recompense in some measure for the injustice done to their illustrious relative, has conferred honourable employments, and besides, ordered the expenses of the prosecution of Antequera to be refunded to them out of the estates of the Viceroy Castlesuerte, under whose administration he was put to death. (1)

Don José Antequera was a native of Lima, knight of Alcantara, and Attorney-General or Protector of the Indians in the Audience of Charcas. He

was one of those extraordinary men, who, like Franklin, become illustrious, not so much by the cultivated embellishments of education, as the force of native talent; he possessed a noble soul, and was enthusiastically devoted to the liberty and happiness of mankind.

The Jesuits in Paraguay, at the period of which I speak, had erected there an extraordinary species of government, without a parallel in history; keeping in continual commotion the whole province, insomuch that it was found necessary to send there a minister of integrity and approved talent, commissioned from the Audience of Charcas, to watch the movements of these men, who, under the cloak of their monkish superstition, had transformed themselves into sovereigns. Antequera was dispatched as this commissioner, and he found the Jesuits already holding in subjection a great population, masters of their wealth and industry, and busily engaged in hastening on a plan of universal domination; and that the small part of the inhabitants which resisted, was but a feeble check upon the ambition of these monks. He saw that the disturbances existing between the magistrates and the corporate bodies of the country, were the result of their policy, and that, in order to quiet these disturbances, it was necessary to put an end at once to the alarming evil.

The Jesuits, who were perhaps the most intelligent body of men in all the Spanish dominions, and perfectly conversant with the policy of the

Spanish cabinet, saw in Antequera a terrible enemy, and that it was necessary to destroy him. All the artifices of intrigue and cunning which their refined and practised ingenuity could suggest, were put in motion and exerted with the utmost adroitness to conduct Antequera to the scaffold, where he soon expiated with his life his desire of reforming these rapacious monks.

These disciples of Loyola, being possessed of the *confessionals*, and by this means of the most secret thoughts of the people, and availing themselves of their pretended divine authority, it is easy to conceive that nothing could be concealed from them, and that no scheme could be projected among the people which they could not turn to their advantage. And here I cannot but remark that a system of religion which obliges its professors to act as self-accusers, and to regard the doctrines and counsels of their priests as oracles of Heaven, is, without doubt, the most potent engine of despotism which has ever been devised. This moral power, superior in itself to the armies of kings, was of unimaginable force when wielded by the Jesuits. Their interior discipline, the austerity of their habits in the midst of a corrupt and profligate priesthood, the sanctity of their manners and their learning, all conspired to give them great consideration among the people, who committed to them not only the keeping of their consciences, but the education of their children, the direction of all their private and domestic business, their testamentary dispositions, matrimonial contracts,

&c. The indefatigable perseverance with which they pursued their schemes, is undoubtedly worthy of commendation; they omitted nothing which could tend to instruct them in a knowledge of the character of the people of South America, while they practised every winning art to captivate the hearts of the neophytes; and what ought to have been a work of sublime charity, was in their hands converted to the purposes of gain—as they appropriated to themselves the labour of these unhappy men, and treated them as their slaves.

From the period of the Spanish conquest, and even now, since the present revolution, the most serious difficulty in the way of civilizing the Indians of this country, has arisen from ignorance of their languages. This difficulty, which is indeed considerable where there are no writers nor interpreters of a language, was completely surmounted by the ingenuity of the Jesuits, who composed dictionaries and grammars of the native languages of Peru and Rio de la Plata.

The Jesuits permitted none but themselves to hold any intercourse with the Indians, or even to enter their villages; and the corps of militia and regulars composed of the Indians, who are good soldiers, were under the immediate command of the friars, who always accompanied them in their wars.

Antequera saw that the influence of the Jesuits was too powerful for him to attempt a reform; that their power and political connexions were established and arranged in such a manner that

the Spanish government itself, which afterwards found it necessary to expel them from its dominions, was at this time the supporter of this society, whose object was the universal subjugation of all South America. These *military Priests*, who held under their control in their villages, troops well disciplined and regulated, by their superior sagacity and skill, and who in one week could have marshalled 60,000 men in the field, could have made an easy conquest of Peru, if not, indeed, of the whole of South America; and had not their ambitious projects been thwarted by their expulsion from the country, we should at this hour behold existing there a monkish monarchy or republic, as novel in the world as it would have been destructive to the peace and happiness of mankind. This supposition will not seem improbable, if we consider the means which were in their hands, the ambition inherent in the human heart, their immense wealth, disciplined troops, munitions of war, manufactures, and all the talents suited to military command, and to the direction of public affairs. (2) Even at this time there exist in the villages of the Missions and Chiquitos, manufactories of fine linen and cabinet work, and specimens of sculpture and painting executed in a beautiful manner; in short, these Jesuits were masters of immense possessions, of splendid houses, magnificent temples, and altars adorned with the most rich and sumptuous stuffs, which were fabricated by the Indians of Juli and the Missions, and with the

same taste and beauty as the workmanship of the first rate mechanics of Europe.

The art of printing, too,—that inestimable invention, to which mankind are so much indebted for their grand progress in civilization and liberty, and which will make perpetual that mass of knowledge which has been accumulated through the lapse of ages,—which was prohibited in all the Spanish provinces, under the severest penalties, was introduced by these monks into their establishments, and preserved by them for their own private use.

Those who are born and educated in countries where printing is like any other mechanic art, can have no idea of the sensations which a Spanish colonist feels at the first sight of a printing-press. For myself, although educated in the principal college of Peru, I never beheld a printing-press until my arrival at Buenos Ayres, about nine years ago. Animated with the view of the admirable invention, I fancied I beheld in those mute characters, the types, the fountain of that light, which ere long would burst forth and dissipate the clouds of despotism which darkened the horizon of my beloved country. It is worthy of remark, that at the breaking out of the present revolution in 1810, from Lima to Monte Video, for an extent of more than 1000 leagues, including Peru, Chili, and Rio de la Plata, countries filled with cities, villages, universities, colleges, schools, tribunals of justice, and men of wealth and science, there was but one miserable old printing-

press, and this formerly belonged to the Jesuits of Cordova!

The Jesuits well knew the utility of the press, and surmounted every difficulty in order to provide themselves with it, and there are now to be found in the imperial library at Paris, dictionaries and grammars of the languages of Peru and the Missions, which were printed at Cordova and at Juli, a village near La Paz. In those grammars may be seen the formation of the general languages of Peru, called Quechua and Aymara, which follow the construction of the Greek and Latin languages, having similar declensions and terminations, and which are sufficiently copious for a people partially civilized. (3)

LETTER II.

It has been shown that the Province of Paraguay was divided into factions of the people and the Jesuits, and that the latter had clearly the superiority. In this state of things, Antequera saw that the only way to check the usurpations of the monks, was to unite with the people, who undoubtedly possessed the right to form their own municipal laws, and to live independent of the Jesuits. He found a ready disposition in the inhabitants to second him in his plans; he instructed them in the natural rights of a people whose rulers have become corrupt and profligate, and that, under such circumstances, they had a right to choose their own rulers; and thereupon the people proceeded to establish a representative government. This bold measure alarmed the Spanish chiefs; and the Viceroy of Lima, notwithstanding he was a friar, manifested all the indignation of a Castilian. He instantly assembled his troops to chastise the rebels. The Jesuits sent their troops to co-operate with those of the Viceroy. The *Comuneros*, or representatives of the people, with Antequera at their head, took up arms to defend their rights, and several bloody battles were fought, which were attended with various success; but at length the royal troops were victorious. Antequera being defeated, retired to Cordova, where he was arrested, and from whence he was conveyed to Lima and imprisoned, with his companions, D.

Ramon Llanas, D. Juan de Mena, and Mompo. The imprisonment of these persons, who were regarded as the leaders of the revolution, did not quiet the disturbances in Paraguay, but the spirit of independence spread there with renewed vigour. Beroa, the governor of that province, appointed by the Viceroy, was deposed as being an accomplice of Antequera, to whom the success of the revolution in Paraguay was attributed, although he was at that time imprisoned in Lima, a distance of 800 leagues.

Nearly five years had elapsed since Antequera was imprisoned in Lima, where his transcendent talents, his eloquence, the inherent consideration of his rank and birth, and the integrity of his morals, drew around him hosts of friends, inasmuch, that it was generally believed at Lima, that he would finally be set at liberty. And notwithstanding this long delay was dangerous to the Spanish government, still the force of public opinion in favour of Antequera operated as a check upon their proceedings against him, until the escape of Mompo from prison hastened the conclusion of the trial, and the execution of the sentence.

This Mompo, who was a man of a daring and enterprising spirit, escaping from prison in Lima, of a sudden presented himself in Paraguay, where, obtaining a situation in the municipality, he had an opportunity to diffuse his ideas of liberty among the people, and of which he availed himself with great success. The news of these proceedings of Mompo exceedingly alarmed the

Spanish government, and it was deemed expedient to put Antequera and his companions to death, notwithstanding the difficulties which might arise from the execution of a man and his adherents, who were the favourites of the whole population of Lima. The viceroy, Castelfuerte, who was a bold and faithful servant of his king, ordered, that the 5th of July, 1731, should be appointed for the public execution of Antequera, and that it should take place with all the preparation and ceremony customary on the execution of Spanish noblemen.

Never was Lima seen in so great consternation. Multitudes of people thronged the streets, running in every direction to save their beloved Antequera, and when he was brought forth to be led to execution, the air rang with the cries of 'pardon' from the people. Then the Viceroy, seeing that the sentence would not be executed, mounted his horse, and ordered his troops to fire upon the crowds who were rushing to rescue the prisoner. Antequera was thus shot down by the soldiery in the street, and at the same time great numbers of the populace, who were crowding around him. Thus ended the sad catastrophe, and although the vigilance of the viceroy could quiet the agitation of the populace, it could not quench the fire of independence which had been lighted up in Paraguay, where the news of this transaction inflamed the passions of the people the more, and the *Comuneros* canonized those illustrious victims as the "Martyrs of Liberty;" and here I cannot pass

over in silence the superiority of character displayed by the daughter of Don Juan de Mena. This young lady in the morning heard of the death of her father, and far from showing the sensibility common to her sex, immediately adorning herself in the gayest apparel, presented herself to the public, saying, "that it would be degrading to her to show any symptom of sorrow or affliction on hearing of her father's death, because it was glorious for him to die, when he was sacrificed in the cause of the liberty of his country." Such was the language which was used at that time in a remote corner of South America, at a distance from the civilized nations of Europe, by a people unacquainted with the writings of those illustrious men whose labours are the experience of centuries.

After the revolution of Paraguay, we hear of no other political commotion, until the rebellion of Tupac Amaru, in Cuzco, the ancient metropolis of the Incas, in the years 1780, 81. While every step of the Spaniards in America has been marked with blood, the city of Cuzco has been undoubtedly the principal theatre where have been acted the deepest tragedies of their cruelty and injustice. In this devoted city, Pizarro and his bloody bauditti, in the most cruel and treacherous manner, murdered the unfortunate Atahualpa, a monarch most beloved by his people, in return for the hospitality and wealth which he had showered upon them, and thus destroyed the only government then existing in the world, which was founded upon the will, and consulted the happiness of the people in its

administrations (4). There, the most magnificent monuments, which were a proof of the power and resources of those who erected them, and of the ingenuity of the artists, were delivered to plunder and desolation by those stupid and brutal conquerors, who were as deaf to the voice of reason as of humanity. There, at last, in our own times, was put to death in a most barbarous manner, Jose Gabriel Tupac Amaru, illustrious by his descent from the Inca Sayri Tupac, but more illustrious, because he was the first who rose up to deliver Peru from the calamities inflicted by the Spanish despotism. This valiant leader was drawn in quarters by horses; he died like a hero, leaving to posterity an example which will never be forgotten. Tortured by Areche in order to force him to disclose the names of his accomplices, he answered—"Two only are my accomplices, myself, and you, who interrogate me; you, in continuing your robberies upon the people, and I, in endeavouring to prevent you." A short sentence, which defines the nature of the Spanish government. This answer, inspired by the deep feelings caused by the injustice of the Spanish government, was punished by cutting out his tongue, drawing his body asunder by horses, and burning to ashes the mutilated fragments! Several others, among whom were the wife and children of Tupac Amaru, were put to death in the most shocking and brutal manner. Suffice it to say, that in that revolution, one third at least of the whole population of Peru perished by the

hand of violence, and there were to be seen on the plains of Cica-Cica, and Calamarca, which I passed over about twenty years after, for an extent of fourteen leagues, numberless heaps of bones of the miserable beings who had fallen there by the sword; and there still remained to be seen, at the cross roads, and in the most public places throughout the country, the heads of the leaders of that rebellion suspended on gibbets (1).

We have seen how prodigally the blood of the natives of this country has been shed to sustain a government which was odious to them: it now only remains to show that the Spanish government has pursued an uniform and constant plan to punish their insurgent colonists in South America. The same cruelties practised by the Spaniards at the time of the conquest, were repeated three centuries afterwards. The murder of Tupac Amaru, of his family and associates, in the years 1780, 81, in Cuzco, La Paz, Verenguela, and Penas;—that of Ubalde and his eight companions also in Cuzco in 1806;—of the two Llanzas, Sagarnagas, &c. in La Paz in 1809, are testimonials of the cruel and unrelenting spirit of the Spanish government; and that the wounds inflicted by their barbarous policy can never be healed, nor the disposition of the inhabitants conciliated.

The disorders and corruption of the reigns of Charles III and IV, have produced in South America results equally unhappy and deplorable.

Ubalde was a native of Arica, the Asesor or chief lawyer of the presidency of Cuzco, and a man

of acknowledged talents and independent character, who could not accommodate himself to that unequal and unjust system of government which marked the reign of Charles IV, and more particularly during the administration of the Prince of Peace. His influence in the government of his country, forced upon him the conviction that it was impossible to produce any political reformation which would be either stable or salutary; and in conjunction with the principal men throughout Upper Peru, and including Cuzco and Arequipa, he projected a revolution, the object of which was to produce the entire overthrow of the Spanish government in that part of South America; and all the means necessary for the accomplishment of the project, were provided, so that the thing might take place at one time throughout the whole country; by seizing at once all the different branches of the public administration, and establishing a central representative government of the people, which might awaken them to a sense of their rights. This project was defeated by the perfidy of a wretch who basely betrayed the cause of his country, and put the Spanish government in possession of the secret, in hopes of reward. The name of this man was Lechuga, which ought to be handed down to the execration of posterity. The mode of discovering the plot is worthy of mention:—This Lechuga requested one of the principal judges of the Audience of Cuzco to come to his house with a Notary, on a particular day, and that he would feign sickness and send for Ubalde, and that the judge

should hear the plan of the conspiracy from Ubalde's own lips; the thing happened in the manner he projected. Ubalde, in consequence of the indisposition, as he supposed, of Lechuga, went to visit him, who said that his indisposition proceeded from his devotion to the cause of the revolution, and his anxiety of mind, and fears of the danger of ultimate failure on account of the extent of the power and resources of the Spanish government; that he was fearful the scheme would have the same melancholy issue as that of Tupac Amaru and his companions in the same city, whose names were only remembered with infamy, and whose blood still reddened the scaffolds upon which it was shed; these melancholy reflections had made so deep an impression on his mind, that he had resolved to have nothing more to do with a project so fruitful of difficulties and dangers. Ubalde replied, that the undertaking would no doubt meet with very great opposition, but that he had provided against every casualty within the limits of human foresight; that the leaders in every city were wealthy and influential men; that the natives would immediately unite with them all over the country, as soon as the leaders set them a proper example, and more especially would the confidence of the people increase when they should discover that the first act of the revolution would be to give them a share and part in the government; that, as the revolution would be effected by one simultaneous effort throughout the whole country, and by those already holding situations in

the government, the opposition of the Spanish authorities would necessarily be feeble, and that, even supposing it should be strong, there could certainly be no apprehension of ultimate failure, as the revolutionists were possessed of all the means necessary to make war to advantage; were masters of all the public and private treasures of the country, the munitions of war, military posts, &c. and would, of course, be able in a short time to organise and put in motion a regular and formidable military force; and that, although at present they might stand in need of military commanders, the Spaniards were certainly not in a better situation; that the revolutionists possessed greater facilities for acquiring the means of carrying on war by opening their ports to foreigners, and inviting all nations to unite with them in liberating their country from oppression, and to participate in the riches of the soil and in their commerce; that the North Americans and the English who frequent the Pacific Ocean, would introduce their merchandise into the country in spite of the vigilance of the Viceroy, and that finding a good market and hospitable treatment among them, they would supply them with every article of use or necessity.

The judge heard with alarm this disclosure of a conspiracy, the object of which was to overthrow the Spanish government in South America. He directed the notary to take down the substance of that conversation. In cases of treason under the Spanish law, this summary

information is sufficient to subject the party implicated to capital punishment. Ubalde and his eight companions were in a short time sentenced to death, and upwards of one hundred of the principal citizens of Cuzco were banished to Africa, the Philippines, and the Peninsula, and thrown into prison there, where they perished.

Ubalde, whose execution I witnessed, was hung in August, 1805. He died with the serenity of a philosopher, without denying his principles, or the causes which led him to engage in the revolution; but on the contrary, while seated on the scaffold, he said, "that his death could not stop the progress of a cause which had been so long preparing by the corruption of the government; that the independence of South America was not far distant, and that, although he was going to the grave without the satisfaction of seeing that glorious day, yet his mind was brightened with the hope, that his friends who survived him would enrol his name among the martyred heroes of his country; that Providence had decreed that a period should be put to the sufferings of the people of South America, the extent and magnitude of which he well knew from the situations which he had held in the public administration; that, although he should soon cease to be, and should leave behind him a wife and children exposed to the ignominy and disgrace which always attach to a rebel family, he felt a consolation in the reflection that he should die in the same place where

the most illustrious Americans had died before him." This address, pronounced by a man like Ubalde, so beloved as he was in Cuzco, drew tears from every eye, and a universal cry from the people accompanied the last groan of that unhappy American.

LETTER III.

EVENTS proved that Ubalde knew the real state of the country, as five years did not pass away after his execution, before a new revolution broke out in La Paz, which may be considered the precursor of that which exploded in the capital (Buenos Ayres) in 1810; a city which first effectually broke the colonial chains upon the heads of her oppressors, and established the foundations of political independence in the South.

The political events which transpired at Bayonne in May, 1808, created in the inhabitants of La Paz a new excitement to arouse them from their lethargy. It was in vain to pretend that the population of this country, possessing immense resources, which they well knew how to appreciate, would remain in the same apathy which the people of South America manifested when Philip V. disputed the crown of Spain. Independent and warlike in their character, they beheld a great monarchy, celebrated for three centuries for its riches, power, and the extent of its dominions, dissolved in a moment; and it was on the 25th of March, 1809, that they deposed the Spanish authorities in the country, held meetings of the people, erected a government under the name of *Junta Tuitiva*, and published a manifesto to the world, in which they asserted the right of governing themselves in the same manner as Spain did by her Juntas; and more especially, as at that time

insidious recommendations of the pretensions of the Princess Charlotte of Brazil were sent into the country, in order to persuade the people to receive her in the character of *Protectress*.

The people of La Paz organised all the departments of the public administration, and raised an army to oppose the Spanish authorities, who at the same time rose up to destroy the unhappy city. La Paz not only separated itself from the government of the mother country, but Monte Video also; and both established a Junta, but their fate has been very different. The leaders of the revolution in Monte Video were European Spaniards, and this was sufficient to ensure the approbation and countenance of the Spanish government; while on the contrary, the leaders of La Paz were natives, and therefore were marked as traitors, and devoted to destruction. An armed force was despatched by Cisneros, Viceroy of Buenos Ayres, under the command of Marshal Nieto, which was to form a junction with other troops which were despatched by the Viceroy of Lima, and commanded by Goyeneche. This assassin of his country—for he was a native of Peru—had the glory, if it may be called such, of entering La Paz before the arrival of Nieto. The unhappy city, after a stout resistance, was taken by storm, and for several days the savage barbarity of the conquerors sent to the scaffold, without discrimination and without trial, great numbers of the principal inhabitants, to appease the vindictive wrath of the monster Goyeneche. After the first

flush of victory was over, it was deemed proper to give some formality to the bloody business. The opinion of Cisneros was consulted upon the fate of those who were not yet executed, and then it was that this Viceroy imbrued his hands in the blood of men to whom their country owed a crown. The last punishment was decreed against all who remained in prison, and it was only the establishment of the new government at Buenos Ayres that saved their lives, and among the rest that of a distinguished priest, whose pardon the Viceroy granted after he had been deposed, and which was brought to La Paz by a courier just in time to prevent the execution of the sentence. By the same accidental circumstance, great numbers implicated in the revolution were set at liberty, who were near Buenos Ayres in chains, to be transported to the dungeons of the Philippines, the Malvinas, and the Peninsula.

La Paz became like a desert after such desolation, and the few of the miserable inhabitants who remained alive, inspired by that stubborn valour which adversity strengthened but could not subdue, fled to the forests of Yrupana, whither they were instantly pursued by a strong division of the royal troops, and fell in battle, or expired by famine, in preference to surrendering to their enemies. The names of Lanzas and Rodriguez, the leaders of that revolution, will remain embalmed in the hearts of their compatriots, and find a conspicuous place in the history of their country. It is such facts as these which force upon us the

conviction that the independence of this country is inevitable, whatever may be the success of the war that is now waging.

The transactions at Bayonne in 1808, already mentioned, produced events, such as have not frequently been presented in the history of the world. The immediate connexion between Spain and her colonies being dissolved by a political orphanage, into which she was thrown in consequence of the sudden dissolution of her monarchy, the destiny of sixteen millions of people could not long remain subject to the control of those men who had constituted themselves the sovereigns of South America.

Upon the arrival of the first news of these events, the people began to employ their thoughts about their future political situation, and Buenos Ayres, which, by reason of her recent military success against the British, was placed in a different situation from the other Provinces of South America, saw that the time had come to burst the bonds which united her to the mother country. The same sentiment manifested itself throughout the whole country; no one doubted of the subjugation of Spain by Napoleon, news to that effect arriving almost every day. At this time it was that secret meetings of the people began to be held in La Paz, Charcas, Potosi, Cochabamba, and Buenos Ayres, and in those secret clubs was discussed the mode of forming a new government. The leaders in La Paz were the two Lanzas and Rodrigues; in Charcas, the two

Sudanes and the Indian canon, Manco Capac ; in Salta, Moldez ; in Cochabamba, Arenales ; and in Buenos Ayres, Castelli, Belgrano, Chiclana, Vieytes, Pena, Beruti, Donado, Yrigoyen, Thompson, &c. These bold men felt the impulse of liberty irresistible in their hearts, and fearlessly exposed their lives and fortunes in the glorious cause. The leaders in La Paz and Charcas, broke asunder impatiently the shackles of the ancient dominion, and became the victims of Spanish wrath ; they aroused the Viceroy Cisneros to greater activity, who, not finding himself secure in his government a single moment, established a political inquisition more severe than that of Torquemada. Yet these sons of the South, animated with that dauntless valour which the love of liberty inspires, unappalled by the horrid punishments which had been inflicted at La Paz, had boldness enough to provoke the relentless vengeance of a powerful Viceroy.

Castelli, a lawyer of reputation in Buenos Ayres, made his country-house the rendezvous for the secret meetings of the revolutionists. There they met, eluding the vigilance of the governmental spies. They took care to gain to their interests the soldiery in Buenos Ayres, who were at that time 4000 strong. Of these, 1000 were the regiment *Patricios*, from the city, under the command of Colonel Saavedra ; another regiment, *Arribanos* or highlanders, commanded by Colonel Ocampo ; and the cavalry, composed of creoles, under the command of Rodriguez. These were by far the

best troops, and took part with the revolutionists. Those who remained attached to the interests of the Viceroy, were the regiment *del Fijo*, the dragoons, and the other European corps.

Already had the revolutionists conciliated the good wishes of the citizens, and were waiting a favourable opportunity to strike a decisive blow, when an English vessel from Gibraltar arrived at Monte Video, bringing the information of the dissolution of the Junta central in Spain, and the passage of the French troops through the pass of Sierra Morena. The Viceroy immediately issued a proclamation, announcing the disastrous state of Spain, and thereupon the revolutionists compelled the *cabildo* or municipality to ask permission of the Viceroy to call a public meeting of the citizens, (*Cabildo Abierto*,) and accordingly that body, which was composed of five Americans and a man named Leyba, of distinguished abilities and probity, on the 20th of May addressed the following note to the Viceroy:

“Most excellent Sir,

“The people being informed of the unhappy events of the Peninsula, by the printed paper published by the order of your Excellency, and animated by that innate loyalty to their sovereign, and by those patriotic sentiments which have ever distinguished them; anxious about their future situation, and desirous of that which will best promote their felicity, and with the unalterable object of preserving entire the country under

the government of Senor Don Fernando VII, are plunged into great disquietude, which, if not speedily removed, will be the cause of lasting commotions. This *Cabildo*, watchful over the prosperity of the people, and greatly interested in their union, order, and tranquillity, lay these facts before your Excellency, and, to prevent the disasters of a popular convulsion, desire to obtain of your Excellency free permission to convoke, by means of tickets, the principal citizens, and that in a public congress the will of the people may be expressed, and that they may determine upon the measures most proper to prevent all misfortune and secure our future destiny.

“Your Excellency will please, on the day of the Congress, to post double guards at all the avenues leading to the public Square, to prevent any tumult, and to permit those only to enter who have tickets.

“God preserve your Excellency, &c.”

The Viceroy, perceiving that his power was undermined, and that he could not prevent the meeting, allowed it with the best grace he could. In this public assembly, in which were present all who held employments under the Spanish government, in order to neutralize as much as possible the influence of the creoles, the question for discussion was, Whether, after the dissolution of the Junta central, the authority of the Viceroy ceased, and consequently, whether the people could proceed to protect their own rights and

those of king Ferdinand. , After a warm debate, which continued through the day, in which Castelli with his popular eloquence confounded the Europeans who mingled in the debate, and convinced them that they could not contend with the orators of the people, who, besides the superiority of their talents, were supported by a body of armed citizens, called *Manolos*, who were posted at a short distance from the public Square, to see that no harm befel the friends of the people. At length a majority of the assembly decreed that the authority of the Viceroy was at an end, and that it should be resumed by the *Cabildo*, which immediately proceeded to appoint a *Junta gubernativa*, leaving the Viceroy, however, President of the Junta. Scarcely were the people made acquainted with the establishment of the new government, than a new disturbance broke out, and a memorial was addressed to the *Cabildo*, stating, that it was not the will of the people that the Viceroy should hold any place in the new government. A new Junta of nine persons was thereupon established, in the name of Ferdinand VII, whose members were Saavedra, Azcuenaga, Alberti, Matheu, Larrea, Castelli, Belgrano, Paso, and Moreno.

This mode of deposing the supreme authority of the country, by a popular meeting, and of which the history of the colonies scarcely presents any examples, was not novel in Buenos Ayres; for in the year 1807, they deposed the Viceroy, Sobremonte, on account of his incapa-

city, and his negligence in the defence of the country against the attack of 1500 English troops under General Berresford. The Spaniards themselves aided in deposing him, and the measure was even approved in the court of Madrid, which ought to have known that they were sanctioning a dangerous precedent, which the people at a future day would be likely to repeat.

This new government was established on the 25th May, 1810, and covered with mourning all the European Spaniards, who saw that the measure would put an end to the Spanish domination in South America, and that, although at present the name of Ferdinand VII still presented itself, it could no longer captivate the hearts of the Americans, and that it was preserved only as a political manœuvre to remove difficulties, and by its influence to give greater vivacity to that spirit of independence which pervaded every breast.

This new political explosion, which resounded throughout all that hemisphere, struck alarm into the hearts of the Spanish authorities, who redoubled their efforts to stifle in the embers a fire which threatened such extensive devastation. The Ex-Viceroy, Cisneros, issued circulars to the governors of the provinces, exciting them to kindle a civil war. The Viceroy of Lima, Abascal, aroused himself from his repose, and flew to arms:—Nieto, the President of Charcas; Sans, the Governor of Potosi; Velasco, of Paraguay; Concha, of Cordova, and Orellana the Bishop; Liniers, the Ex-Viceroy of Buenos

Ayres ; Allende, Moreno, the officers of the Marine of Monte Video :—finally, all who were in the service of the Spanish government, took up arms, not so much in the cause of the king, and to protect his rights, (whose restoration no one believed probable,) as to maintain their own power, and to destroy, in the very beginning, a subversive government, whose members, without money, influence, or political connexions, and confined to the city of Buenos Ayres, could not exist for any length of time. Such were the hopes that were cherished ; and it really would have appeared a most rash enterprise, had it not been the result of previous successes, and been supported by the general will, which gives to a popular government all the force and vigour necessary to the achievement of great undertakings.

A division of less than 1000 men, called auxiliaries, under the command of Ocampo, proceeded to Peru, and swept before it the clouds of enemies which hung over that country, menacing destruction to the patriots.

Concha, Liniers, Orellana the Bishop, and others, raised an army in Cordova, and put themselves at its head ; but they were soon deserted by their troops, apprehended, and shot, all but the Bishop, whose religious character saved his life. The execution of these distinguished men, and particularly of the unhappy Liniers, who a short time before had led to the field of glory against the English, the same troops who were now the instruments of his death, was a matter of

the greatest astonishment to the Spanish chiefs, and proved to them that the men who had contended in arms against Whitelocke and Berresford for the rights of the mother country, were now resolved to contend for their own. The auxiliary division, as it advanced its positions, augmented its numbers; it was received in every town through which it passed with the loudest acclamations of joy.

The royal army of Peru, under Sanz, Nieto, and Cordova, was fortified at Suypacha, which was considered a very advantageous position; there the patriots under Balcarce gave them battle, and completely routed them, and again, afterwards, at Tupiza. The fate of the royalist chiefs here was the same as that of the others at Cordova; they were likewise shot. The President Nieto harassed the garrison at Charcas in the most oppressive and vexatious manner, condemning all who spoke in favour of the patriots to hard labour in the mines, and to the most degrading employments. This man came to America in company with the Viceroy Cisneros, after the battle of Rio Seco, in Spain, and he manifested in all his conduct, that he was only actuated by that spirit of licentiousness, covetousness, and meanness, in which he had spent his life.

It is a custom with the Peruvians to make presents to their chiefs on their arrival in the country to assume their commands, and on their departure; they made Nieto a sumptuous present of several pieces of gold of great value; never

having been master of so much treasure before, he received them in a phrenzy of joy, and forgetting the dignity of his rank and all sense of propriety, he broke into the following exclamations, kneeling before the gold,—“God of Peru! universal consolation of mankind! in search of thee, men come from the most distant lands, traversing the ocean, and braving the greatest dangers; my heart is dissolved in pleasure in possessing thee!” at the same time kissing the pieces and pressing them to his bosom. The persons present beheld with astonishment and disgust the conduct of this old man, who in less than a year in his government, accumulated by his rapacity more than \$100,000. Not so, Sanz, the governor of Potosi; he was as noble-minded and generous as the other was mean and rapacious.

LETTER IV.

THE Patriots being now in possession of the fountain of riches and the best Provinces in the Union, and victorious over the Royalists, had their head-quarters at Laxa, six leagues north west of the city of La Paz, in the Province of La Paz, the most distant from Buenos Ayres. Their line extended along the left bank of the river Desaguadero, occupying the villages of Guaqui, Yoraycragua, and Machaca. Their army consisted of 6,000 men, under Balcarce, commander in chief, Viamonte, Dias Veles, and Rivero. The royal army was between 5 and 6000 strong, under the command of Goyeneche, at Desaguadero.

A succession of rapid triumphs intoxicated the Patriots, who continued to hope for the happiest events; and on the 25th of May, 1811, they celebrated the anniversary of the revolution, on the magnificent ruins of the Palace of the Inca, Mayta Capac, at Tiaguenaco, (lat. 17° 5' South,) singing hymns to their country and to liberty.

The glorious events just recounted, united with the revolution of Caraccas in April, 1810; of Chili, in September of the same year, and Banda Oriental; and the circulation of newspapers through the country, which then first began to be printed, sent the fire of the revolution into the heart of Peru, made the government at Lima tremble, and compelled it to permit the *Cabildo* to open negotiations with Castelli. who had accompanied the

auxiliary army as the representative of the government of Buenos Ayres.

From these negotiations resulted an armistice of forty days, in order that time might be afforded to consult the government of Buenos Ayres. This interval was well improved by the enemy, while the Patriots, slumbering over their brilliant prospects, relaxed their military discipline, neglected the points of defence, and gave the enemy an opportunity of attacking them to great advantage; and thus, of giving courage to their timid troops, who, according to the remark of Goyeneche to Sanz, "were men but not soldiers."

A circumstance which was indeed the principal cause of the misfortunes which followed, ought not to be overlooked. The auxiliaries of Buenos Ayres were more expert troops than the Peruvians, and were possessed of more vivacity of genius; their wars with the English had given them a martial air and spirit, and their commerce, their intercourse with foreigners, and other circumstances, had rendered them more liberal in their opinions, and particularly in matters of religious worship; and they consequently regarded with little respect the modes of worship practised by the Peruvians, which consist chiefly in external forms and superstitious ceremonies. This difference of character being observed by Goyeneche, he found it a powerful resort in accomplishing his purposes: he persuaded the Peruvians that the Buenos Ayreans had come into their country to destroy their religion; that for their neglect of the cere-

monies of the Church, they ought to be ranked among the enemies of God and the King; and at the same time he solemnly proclaimed throughout his army the Virgin del Carmen, the commander in chief, and himself, as her Lieutenant. This language, reiterated by the chaplains of the different corps, who were fanatic priests, produced the same effects on the minds of the miserable and ignorant soldiery, as have always been caused by religious fanaticism. These weak minded men, who were mostly Indians of Cuzco, and Mestizos, the most degraded portion of the population of South America, divesting themselves of the fear with which they had previously viewed the military superiority of the Auxiliaries, went to battle with the same enthusiasm as the crusaders under Peter the Hermit. Goyeneche not waiting the termination of the armistice, and taking advantage of these fortunate circumstances in his favour, attacked the auxiliaries on the morning of the 20th July, 1811, and so completely routed them, that they all abandoned themselves to flight, leaving on the field all their artillery and baggage; and the representative, Castelli, did not stop in his flight, until he reached Macha, 100 leagues distant; where he published an account of these disasters. Since this unfortunate battle, the Patriots have never recovered their western frontier.

I stated in the beginning that Paraguay differed from the other Provinces of South America in the character of its inhabitants. This character is peculiar, and has long been observed. This Pro-

vince, like Monte Video, has never joined the Union. In vain did Buenos Ayres send emissaries into it to inform the people of the new order of things. It was at length deemed necessary by the government to send there a military expedition to put the people in possession of their rights, and to separate them from the control of the Spanish governor Velasco, who at the same time assembled all his force to decide the controversy. General Belgrano was the chief of the expedition; he penetrated into the country as far as the river Tacuari, (11 leagues from the capital, Assumption,) where he met the army of Paraguay under the command of Yedros, by whom he was defeated. He afterwards craftily opened negotiations with Yedros, and effected his retreat without molestation.

The Paraguayans did not need the aid of the Buenos Ayreans to establish their independence. They deposed their governor, Velasco, and established a government of their own, distinct from that of the union, to which they have never united themselves, notwithstanding the solicitations of the government of Buenos Ayres. Their last governor was Francia, who rules over them according to their peculiar manners and customs, and his own practical knowledge of the country,

LETTER V.

I NOW return to Buenos Ayres, where the spirit of discord broke out afresh, as soon as the apprehension of danger was removed. For more than six months had the prospect been truly flattering to the patriots, and so rapid had been the succession of happy events, that it was confidently believed by all, that the standard of liberty would soon be erected in the capital of Peru, and the whole country delivered from its oppressors, from the isthmus of Panama to Cape Horn. But internal dissensions and the lust of power interrupted the progress of a cause which involved the felicity of millions of souls.

At the time of the formation of the *Junta gubernativa*, it was ordered that an officer, similar to the Viceroy, should be substituted in his place, who was called the President, and to whom all the ceremonies and honours belonging to the supreme authority of the country were paid. As the people saw in the President the whole appearance of the supreme chief, they naturally regarded him as the only person in the government. This idea caused inconveniences which operated to the prejudice of the republican system of government which they wished to establish. The Junta discovered at a late period these inconveniences, and resolved to abolish the honours paid to the President, decreeing, that no individual member of the government should receive any

marks of distinction, except when they were all assembled, or on days of ceremony.

As the citizens of the United States are accustomed to see their supreme chief treated as an ordinary gentleman, without any particular marks of distinction or ceremony, it may not be uninteresting to state what were the honours which were paid to the President of the Junta. His dwelling, which was provided by the government, was called his palace; a sentinel with a loaded musket was posted at every avenue leading to it; in the antichamber were two aids-de-camp, wearing a peculiar uniform; whenever he rode out, it was in a carriage drawn by six horses, accompanied by an escort of dragoons, sometimes to the number of 12, and sometimes 60. He was always saluted by the troops as commander in chief, and in the church peculiar honours were paid to him. These ceremonies, which were considered as anti-republican, were all abolished at the period above alluded to. The succeeding members of the government lived like private citizens in their own houses, until the administration of the Director Posadas, who revived all the former ceremonies, and created as attendants upon his person, several young officers under the name of Pages. He wore on his shoulder a blue band similar to that worn by Louis XVIII. The same ceremonies have been continued to the administration of the present supreme Director, Pueyrredon, who adopts them all, and who has

a particular seat appropriated to him at the theatre, where the people rise at his entrance.

The first President was Saavedra, the colonel of a regiment. He was much gratified with these public ceremonies, and was not a little displeased at their being abolished. He resolved to avenge himself upon the man whom he believed to be the author of the measure, and the secretary, Moreno, was the victim of his resentment. Moreno was a young lawyer of Buenos Ayres, possessing the genuine feelings of a republican, and who considered these imposing ceremonies as incompatible with the nature of the new government. He had acquired an ascendancy in the government by the superiority of his talents, and the firmness of his character, and to him, in a great measure, may the rapid progress of the revolution be attributed. Buenos Ayres remembers with sorrow the untimely death of this young man, who, by his extensive knowledge, the brilliancy of his writings, and the purity of his morals, was an ornament to American literature, and an honour to his country.

Saavedra, in order the better to check the influence of Moreno, plotted with the deputies of the people from the interior, to procure their incorporation into the Junta.

It is easy to see that an executive body, composed of nine members, was already too numerous to proceed with much expedition in their measures; and the addition of thirteen more would necessarily augment the inconvenience, particularly in those troublesome times. But when vengeance,

or private interest predominates, reason is silent; and Saavedra succeeded in his project, by the votes of the deputies, in a congress composed of them and the Junta, which was held for the purpose on the 18th of December, 1810. On this occasion Moreno said, "that he considered the incorporation of the deputies in the Junta as hostile to the rights of the people, and the general welfare of the state; that the deputies were called to establish a national congress, and until the meeting of the congress they could not exercise any power as representatives; that their character was irreconcilable with the idea of their being members of a provisional government; and that the circular calling them together to take part in the government, was an improvident measure, which experience would prove to be impracticable."

The result was as Moreno predicted. The administration of the deputies was most miserable and disgraceful, and brought the enemy to the very gates of the capital. The Portuguese under Souza made a descent upon the eastern part of their territory; a squadron of their ships was captured by the marine of Monte Video; the siege of that city was not prosecuted with any effect, and Buenos Ayres itself was bombarded by a squadron under the command of Michelena, which was dispatched by the Viceroy Elio, who was at Monte Video.

At this time commenced the first proscription of the citizens, and their imprisonment without

trial. At length the deputies, finding themselves incapable of managing the government, were contemplating the resignation of their authority, when in October, 1811, the *Cabildo* deposed them for their incapacity, at the request of the people, and erected another government in three persons, who were Sarratea, Chiclana, and Passo. The administration of these persons revived the hopes of all, and put an end to the arbitrary proscriptions of the former administration; made peace with Elio; re-established the fundamental principles of civil society, by restoring to the people their rights, and forming a *provisional statute* which regulated the departments of the government; decreed the liberty of the press, and a mode of trial in cases of libel similar to that by jury; organized the army, gave a systematic direction to the military force; appointed a general staff, and raised a corps of dragoons not inferior to any in the world; encouraged the freedom of writing and speaking upon political subjects; invited foreigners to settle in the country; made books free of duty, and also every thing relating to science and the arts, implements of husbandry, instruments for mining, and all kinds of machinery used in manufacturing the raw materials of the country, and augmented the public revenue, by the confiscated property of Spaniards, amounting to \$1,386,887. This government began to open negotiations with the envoy of Great Britain, at that time in Brazil, (Lord Strangford,) and with the Portuguese government, which sent a minis-

ter, (Don Juan Rademaker,) to Buenos Ayres, with whom a treaty was concluded in June, 1812, and general Souza retired from before Monte Video, which place he had invested, at the request of its chiefs, with the combined armies of the east and west. This government raised the second army of Peru, which was put under the command of Belgrano, and which checked the operations of the royalists under general Tristan, who had advanced to Tucuman, where Belgrano, on the 24th September, 1812, gave him battle, fighting 3000 men with only 1600, and defeated him; and thus was dissolved the combination of the marine of Monte Video and the royalists. The inhabitants of Tucuman, who on this day, for the first time, beheld an engagement, fought with great bravery. On this occasion, Belgrano, imitating the example of Goyeneche, put himself under the holy protection of the virgin Mercedes, whose annual festival takes place on that day. Tristan being defeated, retired to Salta, where he fortified himself; thither Belgrano pursued him, and on the 20th February following, attacked him in his most formidable positions, and after a combat of three hours and a half, killed and took prisoners the whole army. This victory compelled Goyeneche to retire from Potosi, and the revolution spread like fire throughout all Peru. But a generosity, which it is difficult to account for, operated to produce the most unhappy effects. Belgrano set at liberty, on parole of honour, all his prisoners, who forgetting their pledge, took up arms again, and meeting Bel-

grano at Vilcapugio and Ayoma, on the north of Potosi, defeated him in both places. These unfortunate actions produced the same unhappy consequences, as the defeat at Guaqui,—the loss of Peru.

LETTER VI.

THE provisional statute required a meeting of the Assembly every six months, principally for the purpose of electing a member of the government, in the place of the one whose term had expired, as one member went out of office every six months. The first meeting was dissolved by an arbitrary order of the government; the second, by a military mob. In this assembly, which was held in October, 1812, Medrano was elected in the place of Sarratea, who was at that time commander in chief of the army besieging Monte Video. This election was disagreeable to several persons, particularly to the faction of Alvear, who was the leader of the military mob. This mob, with Alvear at their head, assembled in the public Square, and demanded, in the name of the people, a new election, "swearing before the Most High, that they would never leave the place until their wish was gratified." A fine mode this of deliberating upon political matters! The *Cabildo*, to whom the people apply in all times of emergency, dissolved the government and formed another agreeably to the wishes of the mob. The members were Pena, Jonte, and Passo.

Pueyrredon, who had been a member of the last administration, which was dissolved, did nothing but throw it into confusion. He was expelled from his situation with the greatest scorn, and fled from the city. He afterwards

addressed from his retreat a submissive memorial to the *Cabildo*, endeavouring to exculpate himself, and praying permission to return. This memorial was disregarded, and the new government banished him to St. Luis in the interior, where, repenting of his pusillanimity, he begged forgiveness of Alvear, who generously forgave him, and moreover conferred honours upon him.

This military mob sorely wounded the rights of the people and the cause of liberty, and diminished their respect and consideration in the eyes of foreign nations. This circumstance, which was known to the faction, hastened the meeting of the congress, which took place on the 31st January, 1813, under the name of the *constituent assembly*, and which was clothed with more power than the former assembly. In this body were several members distinguished for their talents, their liberality of sentiment, and their patriotism; and who possessed a thorough and intimate knowledge of the true interests of their country. In their debates the practical points of government were discussed with intelligence, and these were the first essays of legislation in Spanish America. Their measures are actually producing great benefits to the country. Among them was the protection granted to foreigners who reside in the country, authorizing them to become proprietors of mines, to form companies to work them, &c. without being vexed for their religious opinions, and giving them permission to leave the country when they please; making free of duties all implements of husbandry,

books, and printing presses ; the abolition of slavery, and the progressive manumission of the existing slaves ; the abolishing the Inquisition, and directing that no person under forty years of age could be a professed monk, a measure adopted to discourage celibacy ; the establishment of public schools and mathematical academies ; the division of the powers of the government into the three branches of the executive, legislative, and judicial, and the concentration of the executive power in one person, called the Supreme Director. This Assembly undoubtedly gave more regularity to the public administration and energy to the government, which proceeded with prosperous steps in all its measures, while it consulted the cause of liberty, and the true interests of the people.

During the administration of Posadas, who was the first Director, the important place of Monte Video was taken by the military and naval force of Buenos Ayres, under Alvear and Brown, in the month of June, 1814. Posadas was a weak man, and altogether incompetent to his station, and from this circumstance resulted many evils to the country. One of his measures was the sending Garcia to Rio Janeiro to betray his country to the Portuguese. He lighted the torch of civil war against Artigas, the chief of the Orientals, for whose head he offered \$4000 ; irritated the feelings of the people in all the interior Provinces, and finally renounced his place in order that his nephew Alvear should succeed him. This young man, full of ambition and imprudence, threw the country

into confusion, and covered it with sorrow; he used the assembly as an instrument in his hands to promote his private views; destroyed the moral unity of the people and the army; and went to war with Artigas, who met him with his troops at Santa Fé. This scandalous abuse of power provoked the people to such an extent, that they took up arms and taught him to know, that if force was the only basis of his power, it would soon be the instrument of his destruction; and such was the result. His own troops deserted him; his principal officers made a merit of their treachery to him, particularly Alvares, who, while marching with the van-guard of his division against Artigas, arrested the chief of his division, Viana, and transformed himself into a friend of the people, and a defender of their rights.

Alvear was deposed, and sent out of the country in disgrace; and peace being restored with Artigas, he retired to his former positions.

Rondeau, general of the army of Peru, refused obedience to Alvear, but recognized the authority of Buenos Ayres; he was appointed Supreme Director, but being with the army in Peru, Alvares was appointed Director *ad interim*. Rondeau passed into Peru with his army with great success, until near Cochabamba, whither he was pursued by the royalist general Pezuela, an officer of merit, and in the battle of Sipe Sipe in November, 1815, in which both chiefs displayed great military skill, and the troops distinguished bravery, Ron-

deau was defeated, fortune again deciding in favour of Pezuela, and leaving the royalists masters of Peru the third time.

Subsequently to this unhappy period, which terminated in April, 1815, the people, having been outraged and oppressed by a military government, when they had overthrown it, immediately passed to the extreme of liberty, that idol of mankind. Not having been able heretofore to check the usurpations of the executive power, they now formed a new statute called the *Estatuto provisional*, which, by its principles, was a code of anarchy. Then was established the *Junta of Observation*, as it was called, whose duty, like that of the Roman consuls in times of public danger, was to see that no harm befel the republic. The *Cabildo* became military commanders of a regular force, in order to prevent the usurpations and arbitrary exercise of the executive power. A public paper was also established, under the name of the Censor, *to censure, if necessary, the public conduct of the government*; and at the same time was confirmed the liberty of the press. These restrictions upon the executive power, while they manifest inexperience in the practical science of government, are unequivocal testimonies of their knowledge of the value of civil liberty; and if they now wander about like the blind, without a guide to direct them, and to keep them within proper limits, nevertheless, under happier auspices and better times, they will be able to establish and maintain that political balance which

ought to exist between the people and the government.

In compliance with the provisions of this statute, a meeting of the general Congress took place on the 25th March, 1816, at Tucuman, 400 leagues from Buenos Ayres, and on the 9th July, independence was solemnly declared there, at a time when the Portuguese menaced the invasion of the territory. From that city, in the following year, the sitting of the Congress was transferred to Buenos Ayres. This body formed a *provisional constitution*, which was very defective, and with but little liberality of principle.

The administration of Alvares, as Director *ad interim*, was very short, and nothing remarkable occurred during its continuance, except the arming the privateers. To Alvares, succeeded Balcarce, who was soon deposed like the former, for not showing proper vigilance at the approach of the Portuguese, as was alleged; and a *comission gubernativa* was named, composed of Yrigoyen and Escalada, until the arrival of Don Juan Martin Pueyrredon, who was elected supreme Director by the Congress at Tucuman, in the summer of 1816.

LETTER VII.

THE re-conquest of Chili, by the Spaniards in October, 1814, was a serious blow to the liberties of the provinces. By the loss of Peru and Chili, Buenos Ayres was left without any internal commerce or pecuniary resources, and was menaced every moment by invasion on both sides, and was also deprived of Monte Video, by the Portuguese, which was a vital part of her territorial riches. The consideration of such imminent dangers redoubled the alacrity of the people; no murmurs against the heavy contributions were heard, and augmenting their courage in proportion to their disasters and disgrace, they resolved on the conquest of Chili.

Don Jose de San Martin, who was at Tucuman, repaired to Mendoza, of which he was governor, to check the enemy, with a small division, which insensibly increased to 4000 men. It was under the directorship of Pueyrredon, that the army of the Andes, under San Martin, commenced its operations. This fine army, in the best state of discipline, crossed the Andes and the hills of Chacabuco, and began its career of glory on the 12th February, 1816. It attacked and defeated the royalists under Marco, the President of Chili, taking 600 prisoners, and afterwards Marco himself, at Valparaiso. This battle again opened to the patriots the fine country of Chili, and after taking possession of the capital, Santiago, they finished

the great work of the revolution on the banks of the Maypu, on the 5th April, 1818, in which glorious battle the royalist army, of 5300 veterans under Osorio, was completely annihilated ; 2000 men were left dead on the field, and the remainder taken prisoners, with all their artillery, baggage, &c. Honour and gratitude to the heroes of Maypu ! Their memory will be eternal, like the independence which has been sealed with their blood. These triumphs will undoubtedly produce the absolute emancipation of South America, and ere long will the flag of liberty float upon the capital of Peru, and the fountain of her riches be opened to the knowledge and enterprise of the whole civilized world.

The administration of the actual Director, marked with so glorious an epoch as the conquest of Chili, is eclipsed by a dastardly submission to the Portuguese, who are suffered to remain masters of Monte Video, and all the littoral side. This city is the key of Rio de la Plata, and of all the commerce of the interior, and the usurpation and establishment of a foreign prince in that quarter, must be considered as dangerous to the integrity, liberty, and security of the republic, whose foreign trade is absolutely precarious without the possession of these points.

LETTER VIII.

WE left Peru after the battle of Guaqui, in which the remnant of the patriot army was forced to retire to Salta.

The Spaniards re-conquered the country, but not the hearts of the people. They had begun to taste the seductive sweets of liberty, which, promising enjoyments they had never experienced, made them eager in its pursuit. Peru, which had heretofore been regarded as a country destined only to supply Europeans with the precious metals, was then converted into a field of blood: her noblest sons butchered without remorse on the field of battle and on the scaffold, her cities desolated, villages destroyed by fire, vineyards rooted up, and mines deserted, and her noblest families driven into exile and beggary.

Goyeneche, after establishing his head quarters at Potosi, sent his second in command, Tristan, to Tucuman and to Salta, where he was defeated by Belgrano, as I have already stated. In the mean time, Goyeneche did not remain tranquil at Potosi, as a general insurrection among the Indians again broke out in the district of La Paz, who laid siege to the city, and the brave patriot Arce reconquered Cochabamba. Goyeneche, not alarmed at these events, marched to Cochabamba, with his best troops, defeated Arce, and drew near to the city, when Antesana, the President of the Junta, proposed to implore

the clemency of the conqueror; a measure which was reprobated by the people, who were opposed to every sort of submission; preferring to it all the horrors of war.

This heroic people, greatly inferior in numbers and discipline, and having scarcely one hundred muskets, fought with the most stubborn valour, though irregularly, and the women intermingled in the combat promiscuously with the men. Goyeneche at length forced his way into the city over the dead bodies of the slain, and consigned the devoted place to the lawless plunder of the soldiery, and to all the horrors of Spanish ferocity. The unhappy Antesana, who had concealed himself in a convent, was dragged forth and beheaded, and his head stuck upon a pike, and paraded through the streets.

At the time these things were happening in Cochabamba, a new insurrection broke out in the Provinces of Chayanta and Paria, near Potosi. Thither Goyeneche sent one Emas, a Catalan, a wretch who laid waste with fire and sword more than sixty villages, and when he became weary with his murderous and desolating career, he indulged himself in the horrid and brutal sport of cutting off the ears of the Patriots to mark them. Goyeneche returned to Potosi, glutted with the blood of his slaughtered countrymen. He retired from thence to Oruro, after the victory of Salta in February, 1813, and thus relieved the afflictions of Potosi, and the southern Provinces of Upper Peru. Oruro is situ-

ated in the north of Upper Peru, ($17^{\circ} 58'$ South latitude,) and is the best military position in that quarter; having a direct and well made road to Lima, from which place Pezuela came with troops and arms to relieve Goyeneche.

Pezuela, who was an officer of distinguished military talents, gave a skilful direction to his movements, and in the actions of Vilcapugio and Ayoma, destroyed the patriot army under Belgrano. In these actions, the patriots again lost Peru, and Pezuela became master of the country, even to Salta and Jujui.

The fugitive Cochabambians united again at Valle Grande, and with an intrepidity which was inspired by despair, charged upon a division of 1000 men and cut them to pieces; and uniting with Warnes, who put himself at the head of the Santa Crucians, re-conquered their country. This success re-animated the hopes of the patriots, and insurrections among the people again became general. Warnes proceeded to Chiquitos, where he also finally defeated the royalists. General Camargo took possession of the province of Chayante, and maintained there with great spirit and success a partizan warfare. Padilla, a patriot leader, fixed his head-quarters at Yamparaes, where he defeated Tacon. The Indians of Pilima took up arms in the common cause of their country, to put down the odious domination of the Spaniards.

While these events were happening in Upper Peru, the fire of the revolution again burst forth in the lower Provinces. Pinelo, Munecas, a priest,

the two Angulos, and Pomakagua, (an Indian,) were the principal leaders. The two first were victorious at La Paz, but at the same time suffered the greatest disasters from an infernal conspiracy. The European Spaniards poisoned all the springs of water in La Paz, and undermined and blew up a barrack of the patriots, killing 300 men. Those who escaped this destruction were fired with vengeance, and cut the throat of every Spaniard in the city.

Pezuela hastened to La Paz, when the patriots withdrew to Desaguedero; there he attacked and defeated them, by reason of the superiority of his force.

The Indian Pomakagua directed his course to Arequipa. He bravely fought his way into the city, defeated the enemy, and took prisoners the commander in chief Picoaga, the governor Moscorso, and Lavalle, and sent them to Cuzco to be put to death. The defeat of Pinelo and Munecas, already mentioned, obliged them to retire to Cuzco, which Ramires and Pezuela had just evacuated to repair to Arequipa, in pursuit of Pomakagua. Ramires, after repeating there the same tragic scenes which had been recently acted at La Paz, attacked Pomakagua near the river Ayavire, in which battle this noble Indian exhibited prodigies of valour, but the inferiority of his force made him the victim of his enemy. He was taken prisoner, and sent to Cuzco, where he was executed, together with the Angulos and Pinelo. His

head was fastened on a pike, and sent to Siquani, distant 25 leagues from Cuzco.

Of these leaders, the most conspicuous was Pomakagua. He was an Indian of Peruvian nobility, the Senor of the town of Chincero, near Cuzco. In the rebellion of Tupac Amaru, in 1780, he took part with the king of Spain; and for his services at this period, the title of Brigadier General in the regular army was conferred upon him, besides all the dignities, privileges, and crosses, of the Spanish court, and he was confirmed in the Seignory of his town. This Peruvian, like all others of his race, was bred without the advantages of education; he could with difficulty speak the Spanish language, but he possessed strong and manly sense, nobleness of mind, and that generosity of character, which is supposed to be peculiar to distinguished birth. When he heard of the revolution at Buenos Ayres, he put himself at the head of his warriors, who were all Indians armed with slings, spears, and war-clubs, (not then understanding the use of fire-arms,) and repaired to Oruro, as the auxiliary of Goyeneche. Soon, however, he began to think about the object and purpose of the war. He inquired what were the wishes of the Buenos Ayreans, as he could not read the newspapers which had then just begun to be published. He was prevented by the Spanish Chiefs from obtaining correct information; but a patriot spy found means to make him acquainted with the events which had taken place at Buenos Ayres: whereupon he immediately de-

clared for the patriots, and told his warriors they had been deceived. He returned to his native town, where, assembling his people, he formed an alliance with the patriots, and bravely fought for the liberty of his country, to which he consecrated the remainder of his days.

LETTER IX.

THE convulsions of the interior of Peru, together with the insurrections of the Pacific coast, in the Province of Arica, headed by Penaranda and Reyes, gave an opportunity to General Rondeau to advance to Peru; first opening the way by the battles of Mochare and Puesto Grande. He took post at Potosi, on the left of the enemy, who were at Oruro.

He made preparations to give battle with great advantage, taking possession of Cochabamba, which supplied him with provisions, and whose inhabitants had awaited his arrival with eager impatience. Rondeau's plan of operations was excellent, and displayed his great military capacity. In order to maintain a safe passage to Cochabamba, he dispatched a division under Rodriguez, to check the enemy's van-guard which was at Venta e Media, distant 5 leagues from Oruro.

Rodriguez was repulsed, and Pezuela, knowing the importance of Cochabamba, made forced marches upon Rondeau, and before the latter could take possession of the town, obliged him to fight the battle of Sipe-Sipe which I have already mentioned. This victory, which reflected honour on the military capacity of Pezuela, was blackened by the butchery which was executed by his order upon the Cochabambians, who were waiting the arrival of the Patriots with triumphal arches, as they considered the victory in their

hands, Rondeau having at one period of the engagement outflanked the enemy's left wing, nearly routed the right, and made a severe impression on the center by his artillery. The result was, that Cochabamba was sacked by the soldiery a second time. Rondeau retired to Tupiza, where he fixed his head quarters.

The government of Buenos Ayres had sent to his succour additional numbers of troops and arms, but they did not arrive in time for the battle. Rondeau, in consequence of this defeat, was removed from command, and returned to Buenos Ayres; and Belgrano succeeded him, who established his head quarters at Tucuman.

Pezuela was now elevated to the Viceroyalty of Peru, and displayed the energy of his character, and the resources of his talents, by carrying on active operations in Chili and Peru at the same time; the latter of which was occupied to the narrow pass of Volcan, near Jujui.

Serna succeeded Pezuela in the command of the royal army, but with talents much inferior to his. He entered Jujui with an army of 2000 men; but was so closely pressed by Guemes and his guerrillas, that after suffering the greatest deprivations and losses from famine and the sword, he was obliged to retire, and abandon his hopes of conquest. From this period, for two years, we hear of little more than partial skirmishes in different parts of the country, which were attended with various success.

The operations of the army of the Andes in

Chili, prevented the patriots from carrying on the war with the same vigour in Peru; but the situation of the royalists at present in South America, and of the Spanish monarchy, admonish us that there will soon be an end put to the general devastation.

From the foregoing brief detail, it clearly appears that the people of Peru have not merely shown a disposition for independence, but have well nigh sacrificed themselves in the cause. In every battle in which they have been engaged they have fought with desperation; wherever the patriot army appeared they were greeted by the people with joy; the cruelties inflicted by the Spaniards added fuel to the flame, and the royal troops every where met with the most determined hostility. But how has it happened that such favourable dispositions on the part of the people for independence, have not been sufficient to put down the Spanish authorities? What are the causes still existing to impede a people possessing such abundant resources, in their endeavours to establish their political independence? Wherefore have the armies of the patriots, instead of gaining advantages over the royalists, and expelling them from the country, been on the contrary more frequently defeated?

The solution of these queries will be found in the civil and political character of the inhabitants of this country, upon which I am now about to enter.

LETTER X.

UPPER Peru, as comprehended in the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, is better considered under its civil division, known as the district or audience of Charcas. The city of Charcas, La Plata, or Chuquisaca, was founded by Pedro Amures, one of the Captains of Pizarro in 1538. In the district, which is near 900 miles long, extending from the Lake Titicaca to Jujui, there are comprehended twenty-one lesser Provinces, as they are called; which are, Chicas, Pacages, Omazuegos, Apolobamba, Larecaga, Cica-Cica, Chulumani, Oruro, Paria, Caraûgas, Porco, Chayante, Pilaya, Punabamba, Tomina, Atacama, Lipez, Yamparaes, Misque, Tarija, Chiquitos; and these are included in the seven governments or intendencies following—Potosi, Charcas or La Plata, Cochabamba, La-Paz, Santa Cruz de la Sierra or Puno, Moxos and Chiquitos. These lesser provinces are governed by sub-delegates, who are subordinate to the governors or intendants who reside in the cities.

The population of the district of Charcas or Upper Peru, amounts to 1,740,000 souls, including Indians. The Indians alone amount to 1,155,000.

This population consists of Indians, creoles, Mestizos, Cholos, European Spaniards, negroes and mulattoes: and I shall speak of them all in their order.

The Indians of Peru, its first inhabitants, are very different from savage tribes. In the ancient days of the Peruvian Monarchs, they were accustomed to live under equal laws and a mild and paternal government. Their morality was so pure and simple, that it was comprehended in the three following principles, *Amma Sua*, *Amma Kelya*, *Amma Loolya*, indian phrases, meaning, *no thieves*, *no sluggards*, *no liars*.

After their conquest by the Spaniards, they continued in their own villages, under the government of a Cura Doctineros, a Cazique, and an Alcalde. They were reduced to a perpetual minority, and sunk to the lowest state of degradation. All who have written concerning them, have given a very unfavourable idea of their character. They have been represented as destitute of every honourable sentiment, of ordinary intellectual capacity, and even of the common physical strength of man. The reason of this appears to be, that all the travellers in that country have been Europeans, who were utterly ignorant of their languages, who never resided among them, never held any intercourse or communication with them; and of course, possessed no facilities for gaining their confidence, by which alone, can be learned the peculiarities of national character and the resources and capacity of the human mind.

Robertson and Count Carly, approximated the nearest to the true character of the Indians; but their knowledge being principally founded upon speculation, must of necessity be very imperfect

and defective. Ulloa, justly reputed the best traveller in South America, falls into many errors, which may be attributed to the circumstances above mentioned,—his ignorance of their language, his short stay among them as governor of Huancavelica, and to the incorrect information which he received from his countrymen, the Spaniards. Neither the “*Viagero Universal*,” nor the “*Mercurio Peruano*,” works published under the direction of the Spanish government, can be relied upon as giving correct information in relation to the Indian character; although the editors of the latter, which is published in Lima, are natives of the country, well-informed upon the subject, and men of distinguished intelligence. Among all the writers who have treated of the Indians, none have spoken of their attainments in the abstract sciences. To this subject I shall devote some attention when I come to speak of the city of Cuzco.

The Peruvian Indians are generally of middle stature, and well proportioned; their general complexion is a copper colour, although in the warmer regions, they are as fair as the people of the south of Europe. They have long black hair, which they wear loose on their shoulders, when attending upon religious exercises; they have no beards; they possess great muscular strength, which is owing to their temperate mode of life and constant exercise; all the heavy work of the country being performed by them without the aid of machinery. They

will carry on their shoulders 150 lbs. weight of every kind of heavy articles, after the fashion of the Israelites. The magnificent monuments of antiquity in Cuzco, which are built of stones, some measuring from 10 to 15 yards in length, and which were brought from great distances, are the work of the Indians, and proofs of their great muscular strength; and the grand temples and structures of modern times, which are built of granite, were erected by them without the use of machinery. The high roads, causeways, aqueducts, bridges, paintings, sculpture, &c. &c. are the work of their hands. Their food is of the most innocent and simple kind; it consists of potatoes, milk, maize, *quinoa*, a fine grain, *chunu*, or dried potatoes, barley, pepper, and vegetables, dressed with salt, which they use in abundance. They eat a little beef. They use freely a bitter herb they call *Coca*, which they chew, as the people of this country do tobacco, and it seems as indispensable to their comfort. They rise in the morning before the break of day, the year round, and go into the field to their daily work; some to tend cattle, and others to cultivate the ground. They sleep on the floor of their cabins, without beds. They dress in a short woollen frock and short breeches or drawers, which are manufactured in their own families; they wear sandals similar to those worn by the Romans; their head dress is a woollen cap, and over it a bonnet, with a broad brim to protect them from the sun.

The dress of the women is a long woollen frock,

frequently extremely fine, and of every variety of colour to gratify female caprice; this is fastened round the waist with an ornamented girdle, and over it they wear a square piece of cloth, or shawl, which is fastened on the bosom by a silver pin, called *toupo*, from 4 to 5 inches in length, flattened at the head, and sometimes studded with gems. The girls wear their dress higher than the married women. The Catholic rosaries and the cross are always appendages to their dress. They, for the most part, live out of the great towns, fearing all white men who do not speak their language, and who, too often, defraud and oppress them. The Indian is mild and patient in his disposition, and suffers every vexation without complaint; retired in his cabin, he finds himself happy when at a distance from the Spaniards.

Their houses are constructed to suit the climate, of a conic figure, with one door, and without windows; they are built of unbaked brick. Their beasts of burden are the Llama and the Ass. The Llama is a slow montioned animal, well suited to the genius of the Indian. In travelling, the Indian slowly follows the steps of his Llama, making his day's journey of about three leagues. The male and female Indians, as they travel along the roads, are constantly employed in some work of industry, making cords or sewing. They are never idle.

The Indians possess great skill in agriculture, and particularly in irrigation. In some districts, water is conveyed in aqueducts of stone, with great facility, for a distance of twenty miles.

They are not subject to diseases like the European Spaniards; an Indian of thirty is called a boy; they are never afflicted with the tooth-ache, and never wear spectacles. They possess a peculiar talent at following the track of their own domestic animals. If a Llama escapes from its flock, its owner will pursue it, distinguishing its footsteps from those of every other animal of the same species, for any distance: they are very fond of dogs, and keep great numbers—a single Indian sometimes forty. They are remarkable for their fidelity to their masters, and preserve with great care every thing entrusted to them; they never steal, are good husbands and fathers, know no dissolution of the marriage bonds, never forget an act of kindness, and are naturally generous and hospitable. But let me ask, how does it happen that a race of men possessing such excellent qualities, have never aroused themselves from the miserable degradation into which they are sunk? The solution of this query is presented to us in the fact, that man without liberty, property, or security, is a mere machine, and, of all creatures, the most wretched. To these miserable beings the Spanish government has been worse than a pestilence; it has stopped their progress in civilization, and kept them in a state of the most stupid ignorance, and if they are not slaves by law, they suffer all the evils of the negroes of Africa.

LETTER. X.

ALL Peru is divided into *curacies* or *parishes*; those included within the United Provinces are nearly 400 in number. . Every parish contains a small town, of from 4 to 10,000 souls, *de confession*, or adults.

Among them there are a few Spaniards or Creoles, who possess large plantations. In the capital towns the Creoles are more numerous. Each town or parish is governed by a catholic curate, a *casique*, and an *alcalde*. The first is a spiritual chief, whose business is to teach the Roman catholic religion, and who is under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocess; the second is collector of the poll, or capitation tax, which is levied upon all male Indians between 18 and 50 years of age, and amounts to \$7, and sometimes \$14 to each Indian, per annum, and is collected every six months. The third is a judicial officer. The two last are subject to the sub-delegates, who are the chiefs of the lesser Provinces. These officers have great numbers of young Indians in their service, who are named after the particular kind of service in which they are employed; such as *Pongo*, *Mitani*, *Mulani*, &c. *Pongo* meaning those who take care of cooking utensils, spoons, &c.—*Mulani*, those who tend the mules. Besides these servants, they have others who are employed as letter-carriers, under the name of *Chasquis*, or *Canaris*, meaning *rapid travellers*, and they will indeed travel with won-

derful rapidity. They fasten their letters to their body with straps, provide themselves with a bag of coca, some dried beef, corn, pepper, and a dollar in cash, and set forward, and finish their journey in the allotted time, in spite of every obstacle. I have frequently known them travel 50 leagues in four days. Their routes are always direct across the country, and they will traverse up and down the lofty mountains of the Andes with the same rapidity as on the plains. There are some towns whose inhabitants are distinguished for this trait; particularly Charasani and Consonata on the north of La Paz, near the Amazon, in the Province of Larecaja. These pedestrians cross with most astonishing rapidity the great deserts of the country. The whole population of these districts are remarkable for their activity and enterprise. They are botanists, pharmacutists, and physicians, and possess in a wonderful degree all the accomplishments of quacks. They know from practical observation the medicinal qualities of the various plants, roots, gums, aromatic resins, and other drugs which are found in great abundance on the mountains and cordilleras of that region. After collecting together a quantity of these drugs, they start in companies of from six to eight for the most remote parts of the country, and cross the continent from one extreme to the other, visiting in their route Lima, Quito, Buenos Ayres, and all the principal cities of the country. They always travel on foot, with their boxes of drugs on their shoulders, fastened with

straps around their breasts, together with their provisions. They are often absent from their homes from 10 to 14 months, and return loaded with the products of every clime.

In Buenos Ayres these travelling doctors are called *Yune-gain-i-ous*, and in Peru *Kal-ya-wy-as*, indian names denoting the countries from which they procure their drugs*.

As the Peruvian Indians can neither read nor write, and have never been in situations to develop their mental capacity, we can only estimate their character in this respect by an intimate communication with them. The faculties of the mind, like those of the body, require to be exercised, that the extent of their capacity may be known. The European Spaniards cannot form a correct judgment of their character, being utterly ignorant of their customs and their language. The Peruvian grammars, which I have before spoken of, were composed by German Jesuits. The Spaniards look upon the Indians as being scarcely rational, and they thoroughly despise them. They do not know, nor can they appreciate, the vigour of their phrases, nor the peculiar softness and sweetness of their expressions. Some philanthropic Curas and Creoles, born and bred among them, when they have been able to gain their confidence so as to understand their sentiments and feelings, have declared that they found in them a spirit noble and elevated, and capable of great achievements.

* The English orthography has been adopted by the Translator in writing the Peruvian words used in these Letters.

I will here present a specimen of their familiar conversation, which can with difficulty be translated from the native language on account of its peculiarly soft idiom.

“ You are my countryman,”—said an Indian to his Creole master—“ I saw you born, on my shoulders have I borne you through all your infancy.” (It is the custom in Peru for servants to carry their master’s children upon their shoulders) “ Your language I taught you, I labour for you, my hands have grown hard in building your houses, cultivating your fields, and tending your flocks, without any object but your benefit. You see my clothes, which are the manufacture of my wife; the *coca* which you give me, is the greatest gift I receive from you. Tell me why the men of your complexion treat us so ill? Those *Chapetones pooka koonkas*, always order us about with great severity, they make us travel with their beasts of burden, they beat us with whips, and goad us with spurs when we do not keep pace with the trot of their horses. Indio, Alzado, Tupac Amaru! these are the names they give us, they cover us with ignominy and contempt. Do they imagine we have no sense of shame? The *Tata Curas* tell us that there is one God who created all mankind, and that all are redeemed by his blood. Why then is there so great a difference between us? Is it because the God who created us, does not think that we are his creatures? I observe besides, that all who govern you and us come from Spain, and that you stand very much in fear of them. Tell me, have

you not learned in the books, the mode of governing? I think there are among you some learned men who can enlighten our dark understandings. I never heard those foreign adventurers speak kindly to us, and so far as I can judge, they want you to explain to them the will of the King. Tell me, why does not that King make you our governors? How does he believe that he can govern us by men who cannot understand any thing we say? I think it would be more natural to make governors of you, who have the same dress as the Spaniards, and speak the same language. This shows fear of you."

This is a specimen of the feelings of the Peruvian Indian towards the Creoles, his countrymen, whom he serves with the greatest fidelity and kindness. All the domestic service in the Peruvian families, is performed by the young male and female Indians, who very readily acquire great expertness in their business. Their honesty is exemplary, and although in every house there are exposed many gold and silver pieces of furniture in common use, they are never known to pilfer any thing. Money is delivered to them by their masters uncounted, so great is the confidence in their honesty; and they never defraud them. An Indian is not allowed to trade to an amount of \$50 without the intervention of his chief, nor undertake any considerable business without his permission. This perpetual inferiority keeps them in the lowest state of degradation and misery; and

with peculiar propriety may they exclaim in the language of the Prophet, "Our inheritance is turned to strangers; our houses to aliens; we are orphans and fatherless, our mothers are as widows; we have drunken our water for money, our wood is sold unto us."

LETTER XI.

AMONG the evils suffered by the Indians, and which has been a source of much unhappiness to them, as well as to all South America, is the Roman Catholic religion, which was introduced among them by the Spaniards. This religion, in countries where it predominates or is connected with the government, is widely different from the same religion as it appears in the United States of North America. Instead of being employed as all religions ought to be, in directing the morals, purifying the heart, and restraining the vices of the people, it is so prostituted in Spanish countries, that it has become nothing but a mass of superstitious ceremonies, and the instrument of avarice and oppression.

And in every country, where there is an exclusive religion which is connected with the government, no matter what it is, it will necessarily be intolerant, and become a most tremendous calamity to the people. And it may be questioned, whether in any community the purity of morals can be preserved, without difference of religious sentiment, and those useful checks and balances which the emulation of sectarians is calculated to produce, in adding animation and strength to public virtue. If the reformation of Luther, to which is attributable in a great degree the progress of light and liberty in the world, is not a complete proof of this truth, the practical

lesson afforded by the United States, leaves no doubt that religious liberty and the rivalry of different sects, is the best means of maintaining in their purity the morals of the people.

Unhappily for South America, the most intolerant of all religions fell to her lot, which made penal every attempt to investigate its character, and consequently the hand of reform could never be applied. An exposition of this religion in South America would fill a volume. I shall only speak of it in that point of view in which it is connected with the government, and as it exists in Peru.

The religion is taught to the Indians by the *Curas doctrineros*, or *Parrocos*, who are appointed in the first instance by the Diocesan, and afterwards confirmed in their appointment by the *Vice Patron Real*, who is either the Viceroy or President of the District.

The *Cura doctrinero* receives a salary from the royal treasury, called *synodo*, and besides, other emoluments, or *obvenciones*. The office of a *Cura* is a dignity in the Church. It is also very lucrative, as each one has not less than \$4000 annually. To this office, and to that of canon, creoles are generally appointed. The bishops, who are three in number, in Peru, including the Archbishop, and four in Rio de la Plata, are generally Europeans. They have annual incomes of from 40 to 60,000 dollars, varying according to the amount of tithes. These ecclesiastics, before obtaining their offices, are required to take an oath to preserve

these dominions under the Castilian crown, and consequently their first care is to impress upon the minds of the people a blind obedience to the king, who is called the ‘Lord’s anointed,’ and ‘*Vice God in the world.*’ The Bishops, who are learned men, are generally employed in writing homilies for the church for the same object, and the late Archbishop of Charcas, San Alberto, a man of great disinterestedness and charity, and of extraordinary eloquence, employed the power of his pen in composing a *Royal Catechism* for the use of his diocese, in which he exerted himself to the extent of his abilities, to inculcate the doctrine of passive obedience; and certainly the Brachmans of India could not exceed him in their efforts to establish this slavish doctrine. This catechism has been re-published in Rome, and received the approbation of his Sanctity the Pope, who ordered it to be translated into Italian. This was one of the best of the Peruvian Bishops: as for the others, they have generally been men of infamous characters. •

The instruction which is given to the Indians by the *Curas*, is to teach them the prayers of the Roman Church which are said before mass, and to attend mass on the Sabbath. On this day they preach to them one quarter of an hour some abstract doctrine, which the Indians cannot understand. They urge them particularly, when sick, to call in the confessor, and also to send their children to be baptized:—the first, not to lose the profits of the burial; and the second, to ascertain

the number of children that are born, of which an exact account is kept, in order to know the amount of the poll tax. The census is taken every five years, and, for the reason above mentioned, it may be regarded as accurate. This motive of avarice is the reason why the Indians are persuaded to marry young.

The Sabbath is a great market day, when the people transact all their business with the Indians, who come from a great distance to attend mass. At the same time, justice is administered to them, and the poll tax collected.

Among the *Curas* are many Europeans and others, who do not understand the Peruvian language, and who procure their parishes by the recommendation of the Viceroy, or some Spanish chief. Although the canon law requires that the parish priests shall understand the language, and reason certainly demands the same thing, still his Majesty dispenses with that knowledge in the qualifications of the *Curas*, and there are therefore preachers and hearers who cannot understand each other! It is sufficient for the *Cura*, if his hearers understand these words, *Obvencion kollkata appamoonkeechoo?*—"Have you brought the money of the *obvenciones*?" The *obvenciones* are one of the modes of obtaining money, which is practised under the Roman religion. They include benedictions, masses, festivities of Christ, of the Virgin, and the Saints, processions, marriages, funerals, and souls in purgatory. The *Curas* and friars inculcate, with the most ardent zeal, the doing of

good works here; in order to be happy hereafter. These good works consist in the festivities before mentioned, and saying masses. Every mass costs two dollars; if chaunted, the price is double. At Buenos Ayres it is but one dollar. There is a royal tariff, (*Arancel de Derechos*,) which regulates the rates of these religious exercises.

The Indians, although ignorant of the principles of this religion, join in these festivities with great alacrity. They principally consist in masses chaunted with music, before the patron saint. The chaunters and musicians are Indians, who perform their parts with much skill, being excellent musicians, and chaunting Latin from memory without understanding a word. At the time of mass, the Indian stands before the altar, covered with an old cloth belonging to the Virgin or the saint, holding a flag in his hand; and at the end of the ceremony, the priest, covering the Indian's head with his mantle, says over him the beginning of the Evangelist of St. John—"In principio, &c." This ceremony brings the Cura from 25 to 100 dollars, according to the dignity of the saints, and the solemnity of the mass. In these festivities there is sometimes dancing in the public streets before the processions, in honour of the saint. Of this I shall speak hereafter. They have also private balls in their cabins, which are kept up with great festivity, hilarity, and zeal, the Indian believing that he is performing an acceptable service to his God. On these festive occasions they sometimes become intoxicated with brandy, which

they use at no other time. The usual drink of the Indian is *Chicha*, a fermented beverage resembling beer, which is made from Indian corn and quinoa. In the province of *Cuzco* the use of this liquor is as general as that of porter in England, and it has been the common drink of the Indians since the times of the Incas; it was then called *Akkaa*.

Besides the festivities in honour of the saints in heaven, there are others for souls in purgatory. The second of November in every year is the day appointed by the Romish Church for that festivity. On that day hundreds of monks and priests inundate all the cities, villages, towns, and country chapels, in search of *responsos*, which are "Pater nosters," said to liberate souls from purgatory. This service, which occupies but a moment, costs six pence, and although the price is so trifling, it is a source of large income to the priests, as the people universally order *responsos* for their deceased relatives and friends. It is indeed a cheap service to produce such wonderful benefits as liberating souls from the terrible torments of purgatory!

On this day also, sumptuous dinners for the whole people are served up in great profusion in the churches, "*in commemoratione omnium fidelium defunctorum.*"

In this fair, the king has a part in the sale of *bulls*, with which he is plentifully supplied by his Holiness the "Vicar of Christ." These bulls are billets or drafts of pardon, not only for the sins of

the living, but of the dead. Such, for instance, is the *bula de difuntos*, or bull for the dead, which is paid for according to the rank and wealth of the deceased. The living have the bulls *de cruzada*, *de lacticinios*, *de carne*, and *de composicion*. The first, which had its origin in the crusades, is to gain the graces and indulgencies of the Church, the meaning of which I never understood; the second, to eat cheese, eggs, and milk, in Lent; and the third, ^{to eat flesh in Lent, and the fourth} to retain every thing obtained by theft or fraud. The Indians pay the first contributions without reluctance, nay even of their own accord, but the bulls are collected by force. It is different with the Spaniards, who receive the bulls with alacrity, considering them an acquisition of great value. The Indians, who are in this respect the wisest, cannot conceive that a piece of paper will be of any use to them in the other world. This fair of bulls, which is a branch of public revenue, has in latter times, fallen into contempt in Buenos Ayres, and has been abolished, and the people of that city, who ten years ago believed in their efficacy, now laugh at the imposture. General Artigas returned to the commissioner *de cruzada*, at Buenos Ayres, their bulls, saying, "His people wanted arms, not bulls!"

In the dances which are customary on those festivities, the Indians are dressed to imitate animals, such as apes, horses, lions, &c. and giants, in the Indian language "*Taraska*," which

are statues or figures of the dimensions of a monster; these are sometimes 5 or 6 yards in height. Within this monster, some stout Indian enters, and dances to music of bells and tambourines. Others, in companies of 15 or 20, and a like number of girls, with the *seecoo*, a wind instrument composed of many pipes, similar to those of the *Pandean Bands*, will play upon the tambourine, blow the *seecoo*, and dance all at the same time: the girls singing catches and dancing figures like contra-dances: and dressed with a profusion of fine silks and ribbons, of the most striking colours, with bits of looking glasses in their hair, fine feathers, beads, &c. and the men with large feathers in their hats. The noise of all this dancing, of the musical instruments, and of the ringing of the large church bells, is excessive, and in this way they go before the Saint in the procession.

In Cuzco, where the Indians are richer, and preserve many of the customs of their ancient nobility, these dances are more grand, and they wear in their dresses many massy pieces of silver, and precious stones.

The Indians have also their dramas, or theatrical representations, written in metre, with much purity and eloquence, in their own language. The subject of these pieces always alludes to the conquest, and the triumphs of the christians over the heathen. They contain the supplications of Atahualpa for his life, from Pizarro, which are so

pathetic that the Indians never witness the exhibition without shedding tears.

On the eve of the festivities, which is called vespers, there is an universal illumination, and the Indians sally forth mounted on horses or mules, bearing torches in their hands, to the public square, to witness the fire works, which are exhibited in great splendour. The art of *Piroctenia*, or making these fire works, is understood in great perfection among the Peruvians. There are several towns in which no other branch of industry is carried on. The fires are made with all the variety of colours known in Europe, and the fire works of Vauxhall in London, and of Tivoli in Paris, are not superior to those in Peru. The use of rockets is very general upon these festivities, and the mode of preparing them is well understood.

From their religious festivities I now pass to their funerals. The tax levied upon these solemnities is most painful to the Indians, and the most barbarous avarice is displayed in its exaction. The sum which the Indian is obliged to pay is in proportion to his wealth, varying from \$5 to \$100. His property is narrowly investigated, and the violence of oppression unites to aggravate the afflictions of a man who has lost a father, a brother, or a wife. I have seen the poor Indian weep till his heart was well nigh broke at the levying of this unjust contribution. But the European Curas, whose hearts are harder than the gold they covet, turn a deaf ear to the wail-

ing of the widow, whose children are taken from her, to pay this tax. A religion so abused and transformed into a systematic mode of thieving and robbery, is a calamity more dreadful than a pestilence. Who can believe that the religion of Jesus Christ, which is founded on the most sublime charity, should have been converted into an engine of such horrible oppression?

The Spaniards and white inhabitants of the cities and towns, ridicule the simplicity of the Indians, regretting their gross superstition, and the many frauds which are practised upon them; but these same persons are not less superstitious than the Indian they ridicule, for they perform the same acts from different motives; from the haughtiness of their characters, and the ostentation of their riches.

The days of public solemnity under the Roman Catholic religion, are those of *Corpus Christi*, the *Holy Thursday*, and of the *titular saint* of every city, days which are appointed by royal authority. For celebrating the day of the *Corpus Christi*, there are erected sumptuous altars, triumphal arches, and the streets through which the host passes, are covered with fine carpets, and strewed with flowers. The altars are very high, and built in a conic form, the upper part is covered with splendid looking-glasses from Germany, artificial flowers made of paper and silk, and beautiful feathers. The lower part is surrounded with steps leading to the table of the sacrament; and which are filled with saints and angels dressed in

the richest silks and laces, and profusely decorated with jewels; the whole disposed with great symmetry and taste, and by artists who are educated to the business. Every thing rich and rare is employed to beautify these altars and triumphal arches, which display the most gorgeous spectacle to the eye; and at the same time exhibit the immense riches of the country.

On the eve of this festivity, the altars and triumphal arches are hung with blazing chandeliers of great beauty and value, and the streets are crowded with people to gaze upon them. The cities where these exhibitions are the most pompous, are Cuzco, La Paz, and Potosi. In Cuzco the weather is so fine, that the lights are always suspended in the open air. The altars are estimated at \$700,000 each, and are erected by the annual contributions of the people, the ladies lending their richest jewels to decorate them. The king also has his altar, but it is the poorest. Before the procession the titular saints of every church are carried, which are from twelve to twenty-five in number in every city. These saints are all of the ordinary size of the human figure, except St. Christopher, who, as the legends tell us, was a giant; and who is generally made about twelve feet high. They are all richly dressed and covered with gold and silver; they are placed on pedestals of massy silver, each weighing 1600 oz. at least; and which is borne on the shoulders of from 40 to 60 Indians. In the

midst of the saints are carried the Virgins of *Carmen*, *Mercedes*, and *Rosario*, which attract much public devotion. The first is under the care of the Carmelite nuns; the two others, of the Dominican and Mercedarian friars, of whom there are legions in Peru.

It will not be foreign to my purpose to show how this wealth is accumulated. The foundation of the monastic institutions of this country, is the work of piety, as it is called, of rich men, who bequeath their property to this object for the good of their souls. This property is made productive, being vested in houses and lands, yielding a rent which amounts to 5 per cent. Another principal source of wealth to these institutions, are the bestowing of alms and the indulgencies of the Pope.

The nuns are entirely dead to the world, and no person can see them after their initiation, which takes place at the age of ^{sixteen} ~~eleven~~. All their worldly consolation is to augment their riches, which are enjoyed in common, and employed only to improve and extend their establishments. Every nun, upon entering a convent, is required to bring with her as her dower, \$4000, which is put into the common fund; and besides, they are obliged to provide a contingent fund to defray their extraordinary expenses. These dowers, by being rendered productive, have necessarily greatly augmented their property. This wealth is employed in various ways, in rebuilding churches, forming gold and silver utensils for the

uses of religion, and making altars, which are of pure silver. The body of the patron saint or virgin is ornamented with diamonds and pearls, collected from all parts of the world, and so profusely, that the body is literally covered all over with them, and on the head is a crown of gold, studded with brilliants and pearls of the highest value. There are also two or three sets of this jewelry for the saint, for changes on particular occasions. These jewels, when once consecrated to these holy purposes, can never be converted to any other use; and for this reason their accumulation is so great, that it is sufficient to maintain armies, or defray the expenditures of a nation. Such, however, has been the superstition on the side both of the patriots and the royalists, during the present revolution, that no part of the property of the churches has been touched.

On a visit which I made to the nunnery of *Concibidas* in La Paz, I was shown two boxes of four feet and a half long, and two feet broad, filled with doubloons. Indeed the cash and bullion which are buried in those nunneries, is incalculable.

Besides all the abovementioned sources of wealth, every nun has her own peculiar trade, and fabricates the most neat and beautiful works in silks and laces that can be made by the hands of women; these articles command a ready sale among this luxurious people, and the proceeds are appropriated to increase the common fund.

As property is not a necessary qualification for the profession of a monk or friar, it is generally embraced by the lower classes of society. In their monastic institutions every thing is provided for their support, and being the masters of money, they become infamous in their conduct. In their contests for the high places of the Church, they conduct in the most scandalous manner, sometimes resorting to the sword to settle their disputes, and it not unfrequently happens that the soldiery are ordered out to quell their bloody affrays.

The immense wealth acquired in the *môdes* I have mentioned, is squandered by the monks in the most disgraceful manner, in every kind of debauchery and gross sensuality. Yet, notwithstanding this profusion of the monks, the churches are full of riches. The jewels and decorations of each of the virgins of *Mercedes* and *Rosario*, are estimated to be worth \$200,000 at least, all which are the donations of believers. I have this estimate from their major domos, or keepers, and have no doubt it is correct. This mass of riches is exhibited in all its gorgeous array, on the public days before mentioned, when these celestial personages go to make their court to God.

These exhibitions are of great solemnity in Buenos Ayres, and the other cities of Rio de la Plata, but not of the same splendid character as those in the cities of Peru. Their monastic institutions are poor; the monks have less influence

and less property. The churches are poor also, and their sacred utensils are rarely made of gold and silver, and if we except the cathedral in Buenos Ayres, which is a magnificent edifice, there are no churches in that country to be compared with those in the cities of Peru.

The description of the Indians of Upper Peru is equally applicable to those of Lower Peru, as they all have the same language, customs, religion, and government. It is only to be added that the Peruvian Indians are prohibited the use of fire arms, which prohibition has been rigidly enforced since the rebellion of Tupac Amaru.

The Indians, not being familiar with the use of arms, are very much afraid of them, as they are described to have been at the time of the conquest. At the beginning of the present revolution, they would fall to the ground on the discharge of cannon. This occurred in the army of Goyeneche, and made him fearful of his success, but this fear has gradually worn away, and they have now become expert in the use of the musket, and excellent soldiers. They will march great distances with uncommon expedition; they go to battle with coolness, and receive an attack without losing their position; and if they cannot stand a charge of bayonet like regular disciplined troops, they will receive with firmness the fire of musketry. It is observed that they are never defeated except with the bayonet. They are not expert horsemen like the Buenos Ayreans, and of course their cavalry is indifferent.

It is a fact, that in the present revolution, whenever the patriots have been defeated, it has been done by the troops of the country. The royal troops of Monte Video commanded by excellent officers, have been defeated by the patriots. In the last action in Chili, the majority of the royal troops were Europeans, and they were vanquished.

So it is, that these timid Indians of Peru, who are ignorant of the technical words of military command, are converted into the best troops, possessing serenity of soul, and that sobriety and temperance so necessary in the character of soldiers. If they are now ignorant of their rights, and the native dignity of their character, and are made blind instruments in the hands of their tyrants; at some future day, when the light of knowledge shall break in upon them, they will burst asunder the bonds which now shackle them, and, learning their rights, they will be able to protect them. The Spanish government are now affording precisely the very means which will eventuate in the final overthrow of their domination in South America. By protracting the present revolution, they are teaching the art of war to their colonists, as Napoleon did to the potentates of Europe, making them accomplished soldiers, inuring them to the dangers, privations, and fatigues of war; and the same soldiers who now march with victorious arms to Lima, to Salta, to Tucuman, will ere long extend their glorious triumphs through the isthmus of Panama, planting the standard of liberty on the towers of Mexico and Gautimala.

Much better would it have been for the Spanish government to have acknowledged the independence of Rio de la Plata, which was proposed to them in 1815, in order to have preserved the remainder of their colonies, than to teach the use of fire arms, and the science of war, to men in whose breasts ambition and the love of military glory had never been kindled ; but which, having been kindled, will never be extinguished.

LETTER XII.

THE Creoles, or Spanish Americans, are divided into two classes; the first are nobles, who are descended from the conquerors; the second, are descended from the officers of the government and private adventurers who have come to the country since the conquest. Among the former are Counts, Marquises, Mayorasgos or Barons, and Knights of different military orders, and these of course hold the first rank in society. They are all possessed of independent fortunes, which they inherit from their ancestors. The education of both classes is generally superior to that of their fathers, but the education of the nobles is very irregular. These nobles are not numerous in Rio de la Plata, but the contrary is the fact in Low Peru; in Lima a great part of the population is composed of this class. The oldest sons succeed to the title and estate, and the younger sons are Curas and canons, filling the various stations in the army and the church. For these stations more learning is requisite, and they are generally much better educated than their older brothers. The sons of this class ordinarily pursue the profession of their fathers; they are lawyers, clergymen, *Mineros*, or proprietors of mines, and owners of *Haciendas*, or large plantations and establishments for cultivating Coca and making wine, brandy, &c. and on which there are several Indian families attached to the soil, and to the personal service of the landlord.

There are commonly from 50 to 200 of these families on one *Hacienda*, who subsist from the soil by their own labour, and who are obliged to work for their landlord whenever he requires their service. The young Indians of these families are their domestic servants. A *Hacienda* of Coca in La Paz is worth from 60 to \$70,000; these estates produce immense incomes to their proprietors. The Creoles are also owners of fine country seats, to which they are very much attached, and which are provided with every convenience for the accommodation of a luxurious master.

The profession of the Law is considered the most honourable, and is the most lucrative. The lawyers of Peru amass large fortunes in a few years' practice, and the profession is a stepping stone to public office. The Clergy in this country sometimes practice the law, the study of the ecclesiastical law forming a part of their education, and both lawyers and clergymen are well acquainted with the profession. The lawyers display great ability in drafting memorials or pleadings, and eloquence in speaking before the judicial tribunals. The want of printing deprives the world of their speeches, some of which are in no wise inferior to those of the most celebrated lawyers of France. In their writing and speaking they adopt the French manner, as they are better acquainted with the literature of that country.

The Curas, as I have before stated, have large incomes, and consequently live in the most splendid manner. and it is easy to conceive that young

men of fortune, of the first rank and consideration in the community, will readily fall into all manner of immoderate pleasures and dissipation, more especially as they are condemned to perpetual celibacy. This barbarous law, which, warring against the law of nature, plunges all who are subject to its operation into the most shameful disorders, is a fruitful source of vice and immorality among the people. This law of celibacy, which was dictated by the wickedness and corrupt ambition of the Roman court, is the cause of many calamities to Catholic countries; yet so blind are the people of South America in their prejudices, that although they well know its injurious operation, they cherish it, with its host of abominations! South America will for ever remain ignorant and enslaved, so long as the freedom of religious opinion is restrained, and the institutions of the friars, and the law of clerical celibacy supported. At Buenos Ayres, the abolition of this law has been attempted, and it was demonstrated that the Pope was only Bishop of Rome, and could not interfere with the internal economy of the church, which possessed the right of electing its own pastors. But the clergy of Buenos Ayres, who are well aware of these truths, and who in their hearts laugh at the canon laws, have not had sufficient resolution to effect a reformation. At La Paz, on the contrary, at the time of the first revolution, the Churches took the first step of electing their own bishops, grounding the measure upon the primitive doctrines of the Church.

As this revolution was unfortunate in its issue, the measure failed ; but it teaches us that the people began to think of the abolition of these establishments, which are so much opposed to civil liberty and the happiness of the human race.

The creoles are possessed of an independent spirit ; and they hate and despise the Spaniards : they form by far the most enlightened portion of the community. Their master passions are the love of knowledge, and a luxurious and splendid mode of life, and they spare no pains to furnish themselves with books, sumptuous furniture, and articles of luxury. And therefore, there are carried to Peru the most splendid furniture of every kind, from the first-rate workshops of France, England, Germany, and Italy. Gold and silver are employed profusely in fitting out the trappings of their horse equipage, and in furnishing their houses ; the vessels in the most common use, of the kitchen and bed-chamber, being made of silver. Their houses contain a drawing-room and dining-room, furnished with clocks, chandeliers, looking-glasses, &c. of which they are very fond, and a room for a library. The drawing-rooms of the nobility are covered with velvet, embroidered with gold ; they have tables of solid silver, and their window curtains, which are of velvet, are fringed with gold lace. Their tables are covered with a great profusion of dishes. cooked after the French and Spanish mode. They eat abundance of sweetmeats, made from the fine fruits of the country. At the tables of the nobility there are

always a great number of guests, called "*commensalis*." This mode of life, which is owing to the generous and hospitable character of the creoles, who are born to independent fortunes, often degenerates into wasteful prodigality and dissipation. They are inveterate gamblers, winning and losing a moderate fortune in a single night. In the interior cities, where there are no theatres or public places of amusement, at which the wealthy and the idle can resort to kill time, they fly to the card table to rid themselves of ennui, that tormenting foe to the children of fortune in the South. Cards are the usual instruments of this vicious sport, which has always been encouraged by the Spanish government, as they enjoyed the monopoly of their sale.

The ladies of Peru dress in a very splendid manner, wearing the most fine cambrics and laces of Flanders, and other rich stuffs of Europe; their wardrobes are filled with these costly articles. They are profuse in the use of perfumery, which is manufactured in great delicacy and perfection by the nuns. But what principally attracts their attention is jewelry. The European ladies when they arrive here, present a singular contrast to the ladies of the country. The Peruvian ladies cover themselves with jewels; every lady generally wears two thousand dollars worth, at least, such as rings, pearl necklaces, combs studded with brilliants, finger rings of gold and brilliants, and rosaries of pearls and diamonds. This renders the difference very striking, and the

Peruvians call the European ladies, "*Chapetona latonada*,"—copper women.

The same difference is observable between the ladies of Buenos Ayres and Peru. The men of fortune of Buenos Ayres are generally merchants, who cannot indulge their wives and daughters in such extravagant luxury. There, property is more equally distributed among the people; and there is more civilization and refinement among them, which have resulted from their foreign commerce, and their intercourse with strangers; the ladies are more graceful, possess greater vivacity of manners, character, and genius. There is the same difference in their modes of dress. The ladies of Buenos Ayres dress after the Spanish fashion, covering their heads with shawls, although since their commerce with the English, they begin to wear bonnets, and adopt the London and Parisian modes. In Peru, although they dress generally after the Buenos Ayrean fashion, still the peculiar dress of the country is preserved. This is a kind of hooped and full pleated petticoat, trimmed with gold and silver, beautiful laces, and festoons of flowers and ribbons. A petticoat contains about twelve yards of cloth, and is called *faldellin*. They wear small silk shawls and hats: it is a very expensive mode of dress. And besides this, they have other dresses peculiar to the church, to which they go almost every day. These are of black velvet, or other stuff of that colour, trimmed with gold and silver also, and fashioned to suit the solemnity of

the day; they do not wear hats, but large lace or silk shawls on their heads. The ladies of Peru expend a great deal of money on their dress, and are under the necessity of providing many wardrobes to contain their numerous suits of apparel.

In Rio de la Plata there are three colleges, two at Cordova, and the other in Buenos Ayres, where there are at present two more building. There is also an university in Cordova, in which are taught Latin, Philosophy, Rhetoric, Theology, and at present Mathematics. All these branches are taught in the most irregular manner. The theology is nothing more than that science in name; it consists wholly in the study of the papish divines. In Peru, there are three universities, one at Cuzco, another at Charcas, and the third in Lima. There are also seminaries, as they are called, in which particular branches are taught, such as theology, philosophy, and sacred rhetoric, as the education is for the church. The sacred oratory is of the most brilliant kind, as eloquence is much esteemed. On all the festivities of the saints there is a sermon preached, the price of which is from 50 to \$100. This is a piece of rhetoric formed after the best French models, which are much studied. It is not uncommon to hear in the churches of Peru specimens of pulpit eloquence equal to the splendid effusions of Massillon and Bossuet. An eloquent preacher attracts much attention, and the

palm of eloquence is contended for among the clergy with great zeal.

There is an academy of lawyers at Charcas, where two years attendance is requisite for admission to the bar. To this school, young men from Buenos Ayres, and every part of the country, repair to study the civil law, and to procure certificates that they are masters of their profession. The city of Charcas is a seat of learning, like Oxford in England. In it there are an university, two colleges, an academy, and the audience, or supreme tribunal of justice, in which all the causes arising within the district are tried, and it is consequently filled with students and lawyers: there are at least 500 of the latter residing in the city. This place can boast of some gentlemen of distinguished literary attainments, who are well acquainted with foreign books, which are procured there, notwithstanding all the prohibitions of the Inquisition, but which are sold at very high prices. Among the professional men, there are canons enjoying from 5 to \$10,000 annual income, and lawyers, who earn a great deal of money. These persons are well acquainted with French literature, reading and admiring Voltaire like the citizens of Paris. Salinas and Terrazas, two clergymen, are distinguished for their literature.

At Lima, where the population and wealth are greater, and the latter more equally divided, there is likewise more intelligence, and there is also a school of medicine in very good order. Unanue, very well known in Europe by his lite-

rary and medical productions, is a resident of this city. In Peru medicine is but little understood, and there are a great many quacks. At Buenos Ayres also, I believe the professors of medicine are not above mediocrity. But the revolution has given a new impulse to every branch of learning, and there are now established academies, in which are taught mathematics, languages, and drawing; and it is natural to conclude, that the progress of all useful knowledge will be rapid among this people, when they shall enjoy the advantages of a flourishing foreign commerce.

LETTER XIII.

THE Mestizos are descendants of whites and indians, and form the third class of the population of Peru. They are generally possessed of moderate fortunes; they carry on the internal commerce of the country, and are the superintendants of the great possessions of the men of wealth. Their education is generally limited to reading and writing, although they have a thirst for knowledge, and are anxious to obtain a liberal education. They are distinguished for the vivacity of their intellect, and those few who are well educated, are superior to all the other classes. They are more attached to the Creoles than to the Europeans, and differ very little from them; and although their education is irregular, they supply the deficiency by the quickness of their parts. Their dress is very similar to that of the Creoles or Spaniards.

Of this class, have been the leaders of the revolution in Peru, the Angulos, and Penaranda, who evinced talents and courage, but were unfortunate on account of the little influence which they possessed among their countrymen.

The *Cholos* are the descendants of Mestizos and the indians. They have little or no education, and can scarcely speak the Spanish language. Their complexion is darker than either of the preceding classes, and more agreeable and expressive; with small but piercing black eyes, and small beard. Their dress is a short sailor-jacket

or round about, and breeches. without stockings; and with a square piece of cloth like a shawl, worn over the shoulders, crossed on the breast, and one end thrown over the left shoulder.

The women dress after the fashion of the Creole ladies, in fine coloured woollens, instead of silks, without bonnets, covering their heads with shawls. The different ranks of society in this country may always be known by their dress. The Cholo women are the chamber maids and nurses of the wealthy Creoles and Spaniards. The men are generally the mechanics of the country, and very apt and expert in their business. They are wonderful imitators of every thing they see, and fabricate the coarse cloths of woollen, cotton, and flax of the country, understanding the art of dying, and of making gold and silver leaf, which are articles of great profit and demand. They are miners, and are equally skilful in this as in every other department of industry. At Potosi the miners are called *Kaachas*, of whom I shall speak when I treat of Potosi and the mines. They carry on their work without any proper tools, using old and broken scissors, knives, &c. But the genius of this class is principally displayed in sculpture and painting. In these arts they have executed some specimens not at all inferior to the productions of the Italian masters. I would not hazard this assertion, not being either a professor or an amateur, if I did not find the same opinion supported by two celebrated European authorities: the author of an "*Account of the European settlements in*

America ;" a work attributed to the pen of the celebrated Burke,—and Mons. Fresier, who travelled in South America. For myself I can say, that if the perfection of painting and sculpture consists in truth of representation, and those are the best which copy nature the closest, and present to the eye the most striking images, I can not hesitate to declare that I have seen some specimens of sculpture and painting at Cuzco and Potosi, not inferior to any I saw in the *Museo de Napoleon* in the Louvre at Paris, or in any of the numerous collections which I visited in London. In particular I will refer to an equestrian statue of Santiago in Cuzco, which was the work of a Cholo named *Coosee-Coosee*. The statue represents St. James on horseback, with a drawn sword killing Indians. The Spaniards say that St. James appeared in Cuzco to kill Indians, as he did in Spain to kill Moors; and the first thing shown to a stranger on visiting this city, is the street through which this apostle rode into town. This statue is certainly most beautifully executed : indeed it is impossible that any thing of the kind can surpass it. The horse is in every respect as beautiful as the Venetian horses which I saw on the gate of the Thuilleries in Paris, which are inferior to none in the world; the noble animal is represented as rearing and plunging forward, with his veins swollen with blood, his nostrils distended, and an Indian resisting and sustaining him upon his right arm: it is so natural and so fine, that its beauty and effect cannot be described.

To these talents, the Cholos unite great courage, hardihood of character, and the immoderate love of pleasure. They make the finest soldiers, manifesting great activity of body, and serenity of soul in battle. They are fond of music; the guitar is their favourite instrument, and they indulge themselves in frequent serenades at night in the streets.

The Cholos are very fond of gymnastic exercises, and *bull-baiting*. They have great strength and agility of body, and delight in fighting wild beasts. In the year 1801, there arrived in Lima a company of equestrian performers; of whom the principal was a Swede, formerly of Astley's theatre, of London; his arrival was announced in Peru as a most wonderful phenomenon; the people could not believe how horses could be taught to perform on a theatre, and some shrewdly suspected that the devil had an agency in the thing. It is common for the ignorant to attribute every thing which they cannot understand to some supernatural power, as the stupid monks of St. Germain looked upon the puppet shows of Charles V. which he exhibited to them in his retirement there, as the work of some demon.

It was necessary for the equestrians to obtain the express permission of the king, to proceed into the interior, to exhibit their performances. They at length arrived at Cuzco, and their first performance astonished every body, when the young Cholos began to imitate them, and in a very short time they could perform all the feats of the

equestrians, who were obliged to abandon their exhibitions, as all the streets were filled with performers.

The Cholos display the same serenity and activity in the bull feasts of the country as in war. Bull-baiting is a common diversion in Peru, as in all the Spanish dominions, and the Cholos particularly delight in it, taking an active part in the performance. At Buenos Ayres and Lima there are regular built theatres or circusses for the exhibition. Unhappily for the city of Buenos Ayres, the revolution has not yet been able to extinguish this barbarous and demoralizing diversion, which was introduced into the country among all their other customs, by the Spaniards, although at present the exhibitions are attended only by the low people. The place of performance is circular, constructed after the manner of the Roman amphitheatres. Indeed, this is a Roman diversion, and it may be remarked, that no modern nation has so carefully preserved the customs of ancient Rome as the Spaniards, for upon them Christianity does not seem to have made much impression.

The performances open by a fierce bull appearing in the arena. The first *athlete* receives the furious beast on horseback, with a pike of three yards in length, with which he stabs him in the head and neck to irritate him to greater fury; the beast foaming at the mouth, and bellowing in a most frightful manner. Afterwards, seven or eight men enter on foot, with small sticks loaded with rockets, which are discharged at the bull. A

quarter of an hour is thus spent in horrid combat, when a man enters with a large sword to dispatch the half dead animal. In these sports men and horses are not unfrequently slain. Sometimes the Cholos mount astride of the bull, and goad him with spears, at the same time playing upon the guitar, and they will steadily and firmly maintain their position as well as if mounted on horseback, notwithstanding the furious and desperate plunges of the tormented animal.

What would not such men as these, if properly instructed, be able to accomplish! In the present revolutionary war, the Cholos have always been found in the patriot ranks, fighting for the liberties of their country.

At Cuzco, it is customary for the Alcaldes, on their election, to treat the people with some public diversion at their own expense, during the three days before Lent, which is called the Carnival. These diversions consist principally in Bull-baiting. The bulls are dressed in the most gaudy manner, and one is always covered with dollars, which are strung on cords and hung around the body of the animal. To this diversion succeed sumptuous entertainments and splendid balls. The cost of these diversions is at least \$10,000 to each Alcalde. This is the only office to which Creoles are eligible, and it is much sought for.

LETTER XIV.

THE European Spaniards come next in order. At the beginning of the present revolution, the number of this class in Buenos Ayres was about 3000, which was one twentieth of the whole population of the city. In Peru there are probably between 7 and 8000, but it is impossible to tell the precise number, as no census is ever taken.

Of these, many come out as officers under the government; others as private adventurers, who accumulate large fortunes by a rigid economy, and often by intermarriage with the daughters of the wealthy merchants and planters of the country. The most stupid and ignorant Spaniard is preferred to the creoles, who are called lazy and gamblers. They hold exclusively all the lucrative offices, and enjoy the favour and protection of the government, and monopolize all the foreign commerce; they are continually in contention with the creoles, and they mutually hate and despise each other. They are warmly and stubbornly attached to their native country, and in the present revolution they have frequently burst asunder the bonds of natural affection and conjugal love; fathers separating from their sons, and husbands from their wives. All their education consists in reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic; and their religion is a blind and bigotted devotion to Popery.

The Negroes are comparatively an insignificant

portion of the population of Peru. They are principally slaves, and are owned more from ostentation than use. They follow their masters and mistresses in rich dresses to church, and to public amusements. They are not so much an article of commerce in the interior of Peru, as in Buenos Ayres, Lima, and Moqueguea; but when once introduced into a family, they regularly descend from father to son. On the Pacific coast, from Arica to Lima, slaves are numerous, and on the sugar plantations, in the breweries, and manufactories, they are treated with great severity; to send a negro to Moqueguea, is, in his imagination, to send him to the infernal regions.

The Mulattoes are not numerous; they are generally free, and of bad character. They are much addicted to thieving; are sycophantic in their manners, and very submissive and obsequious to the whites. Their occupation is generally in the fields and mines. The prisons of the country are very commonly tenanted by these persons, while an Indian is rarely seen in them. In Lima and on the coast of Peru, the mulattoes differ from those of the interior, being better educated, and possessed of considerable property.

The enumeration of casts which I have given, will be found to differ from that of the celebrated Humboldt, as we treat of different provinces of the country. The population of Buenos Ayres, of Mexico, and Peru, is very dissimilar.

Thus was Peru situated at the breaking out of the revolution in Buenos Ayres, which dissolved the ties of moral union that held together the heterogeneous and discordant elements, of which the population of that country was composed, and each class was left to follow the bent of its own inclinations. The hostilities of men so differently situated, have necessarily been violent and bloody, and have plunged this unhappy country into the horrors of civil war. The first steps of the revolution, as rapid as they were grand and imposing, paralyzed the energies of the Spanish authorities, until the memorable battle of Guaqui occurred, to re-animate their hopes. The aristocrats, the nobility, the Bishops and high clergy, the officers of government and Spaniards, ranged themselves on the side of the King; while the inferior classes clung with avidity to the cause of the country. The revolution destroyed at once the colonial system, and invited to the enjoyment of equal rights and the privileges of freemen, the degraded classes, inspiring them with enthusiasm and vigour, and animating them in the glorious pursuit of liberty. The Indians, likewise, who found themselves elevated to a sphere of which they had heretofore no conception, were filled with astonishment at the new order of things, the nature of which they could not comprehend; and, as might naturally be expected, when the full tide of liberty poured suddenly among that ignorant, biggotted and half-civilized people, they were thrown into confusion, and, although the proper medium would

undoubtedly have been to have introduced them to the gradual enjoyment of the rights of freemen, yet it was deemed just to admit them at once to participate in the sovereignty, and to invite them to the celebration of a national congress. To this new impulse, which pervaded every breast, were united the revolutionary spirit of the public papers, the writings of the philosophers and statesmen of Europe, which were translated into the Spanish language, and which caused that mental intoxication so natural to us all on the first perusal of new and pleasing truths.

The Cochabambians and Tarijinos, who are principally Mestizos and Cholos, abandoned their fertile fields and happy homes for the hardships and hazards of war, becoming valiant soldiers and firm patriots; and in proportion to the checks of adversity which they experienced, was their vigour redoubled. The people of La Paz, of Arica, of Guamanga, and Cuzco, were not indifferent to the voice of liberty, but suffered adversity equally severe, and generally, wherever the Mestizos and Cholos were most numerous, there did the arms of the King suffer the greatest reverses.

The enemies of the revolution, who were of the superior classes, although less numerous, possessed a powerful influence, which proceeded from many considerations. They saw the fabric of their wealth and power undermined, and they consequently took part with the Spanish government. To their physical force they added the moral power of wealth, offi-

cial station, and distinction in the church. In particular, have the high clergy and the monks, whom the people are accustomed to regard with reverence, and to listen to with submissive awe, been active agents in obstructing the progress of the revolution, persuading the people that the system of independence which they wished to establish was contrary to the laws of God. The bishops also, who are princes in fortune and power, to whom the people kneel as to *divinities*, have been the deadliest foes of the revolution: the bishops of Cordova and Salta were found in conspiracy with the Spaniards, and the bishop of La Paz, Santa, a man of the most depraved morals, who can only be compared to the monsters of Rome in the 10th and 11th centuries, took the command of a battery against the patriots at Yrupana, and afterwards excommunicated all whom he did not kill.

These superior classes beheld in the revolution the loss of their princely fortunes, and trembled while they saw a population which had slumbered in ignorance so long, starting at once into the light of liberty and knowledge; and that intellectual cultivation was spreading rapidly among them: that they began to visit foreign nations, to learn their institutions; to open their ports to commercial strangers; to instruct their youth in the education of freemen; and that a new generation was rising up superior to the past: and in short, that a radical change was taking place in the habits, religion, language, and necessities of the people. It was therefore natural that these per-

sons should oppose the revolution, and they did so, with that firmness and spirit to which the monarchy of Spain in other times owed its splendid conquests.

The present situation of South America induces us to believe, that whatever may be the end of the present revolution, a new order of things will arise in that interesting country, which will constitute as glorious an epoch in the industry and commerce of the world as the discovery of America, or the independence of the United States.

The subjugation of these Provinces, which is now meditated by King Ferdinand, is utterly hopeless, and more especially since the European powers have proclaimed their neutrality—and besides, the recent successes in Venezuela demonstrate, that Spaniards and Americans can never be united.

It now only remains to consider what will be the situation of the people of South America after they have triumphed over their enemies, and whether they will be able to establish a free government. The people who are colonists of Spain or Portugal, must always have many more and greater difficulties to encounter in their attempts to meliorate their political situation, than those of any other nation. In Europe, after so many bloody struggles, England alone enjoys a free government, and on the continent of America, Heaven has conferred the precious boon only upon the United States, once the colonies of England. But the liberties of England have been the

slow progressive growth of centuries; that nation to which humanity and civilization are so much indebted; whose language, institutions, and laws, have been diffused in Europe, Asia, and America, and which claim a greater debt of gratitude from the world, than the splendid monuments of Grecian and Roman genius.

In order to form a correct judgment upon the future situation of South America, we must consider, that at the beginning of the revolution, the people were not sufficiently enlightened to appreciate the blessings of liberty, or to become citizens of a free government; and, in order the better to judge of their capacity for liberty and their prospects for independence, it must be recollected, that in the United States, as well as in France and England, the modes of education are more multiplied, and brought within the reach of, all classes; that newspapers are widely diffused and the people are easily and universally instructed in political science; while, on the contrary, in South America, the process of public education is slow and tedious.

When all these difficulties shall be removed by the introduction of commerce, and a free intercourse with the people of other countries, then only will their intellectual and physical faculties be developed. Of their progress during the present revolution, I must say, that it has been so rapid in nine years, that those only can form a just idea of it, who have, like me, followed its progressive steps during that period. Ten years, ago they were ignorant of the re-

presentative system of government, of the liberty of conscience, and of the press ; now they are familiar with all three, and with every other principle of the social science. These are certain proofs that the countries which heretofore were the habitations of superstition and ignorance, are beginning to be enlightened : and it is flattering to me to add, that in Chili and Buenos Ayres, where the art of printing has begun to extend itself, the people have already begun to adopt the republican institutions of the United States.

From the foregoing facts, there arise many questions, interesting to the political and commercial world, and worthy of the consideration of statesmen and political economists. The most important and obvious will be,—whether, after Rio de la Plata, Upper and Low Peru, Chili, Santa Fé, and Caraccas, shall have achieved their independence, they shall establish governments, distinct and independent of each other, or altogether form a great confederacy, or consolidated government. The geographical position of Upper and Lower Peru, shows that their commerce is more direct and easy by the Pacific Ocean and Darien, than by the river La Plata. The population of Peru is greater than that of Rio de la Plata, its productions more rich and abundant, and better adapted for commercial exchanges, and the increase of the number of consumers, the importation of foreign goods, the free navigation of the Amazon to the centre of Peru, and to the foot of the Cordilleras of the eastern Andes, which was

interdicted by the laws of Spain and Portugal from mutual jealousy, will be the necessary consequences of the independence of this country. Baron de Humboldt has remarked upon the great benefits which would result to Peru, if the King of Spain would oblige Portugal to open the navigation of this noble river, which waters the most fertile regions of the globe, clothed in perpetual verdure, and blooming with fruits and flowers; which, like the fabled Pactolus, flows over golden sands, and through groves of cinnamon and spices; taking its rise among the auriferous mountains of Peru, and pouring its ocean of waters into the Atlantic under the line; communicating immediately with the Provinces of Moxos and Chiquitos, which are inhabited by an active and industrious population, and filled with towns and manufacturing villages.

On the other side of the mountains, where the fertile and extensive plains of Rio de la Plata and Banda Oriental expand themselves; where the mode of living is so easy, and the productions of the soil so abundant; the facilities through the many rivers of the country for an active commerce so great, and where the single Provinces of Tucuman and Salta might support a population of 6,000,000; a powerful empire may hereafter arise to take a commanding station among the nations of the world.

I cannot conjecture what will be the future political situation of these great countries, as they are every day presenting a different aspect. But

the history of the United States teaches the consoling truth, that civil and religious liberty has transformed her trackless forests, which were once the habitation of savages and wild beasts—at a time when Peru and Mexico were mighty empires, with cities and monuments equal to those of Roman grandeur, and with laws more or less just and equitable—into the garden of the world, where cities have sprung up; manufactures, arts, sciences, and commerce flourish; and a system of legislation established, which Solon and Lycurgus never imagined; which is not found in the writings of Plato or Aristotle, nor in the speculations of the philosophers of antiquity, nor in the splendid theories of the moderns; to which the United States owe that gigantic march of civilization and arts, which they are now making from the shores of the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean.

This example shows, that the people of South America, when mingling with the industrious of other countries, and learning the useful exercise of their talents, and the employment of their powerful energies, and banishing for ever that religious intolerance, which is their calamitous inheritance from the Spaniards, will follow the enlightened institutions of their brethren in the north.

PART II.

LETTER I.

SIR,

It will be recollected that I have described Upper Peru as comprehending seven Provinces or intendencies; to wit, Potosi, Charcas or La Plata, Cochabamba, La Paz, Santa Cruz de la Sierra or Puno, Moxos and Chiquitos. I shall now proceed to present a geographical view of each of these Provinces in their order, with a particular account of their climate, soil, productions, and other physical properties.

The region which extends from Jujui to Oruro, from $17^{\circ} 52'$, to 22° , south latitude, comprises the most mountainous, and irregular tract of the country; ascending gradually on every side to Potosi, which is the loftiest part. Here the two noble rivers of Amazon and La Plata take their rise within about seventy miles of each other, in lat. $19^{\circ} 30'$ S. and which discharge themselves into the Atlantic Ocean; the former under the Equator and the latter, at the 35th degree of south latitude, at a distance of nearly 2,500 miles from each other. This whole tract is cold, rude, naked and mountainous; it is the metallic region of the country;

and is the source of a number of small rivers, of which those rising on the west of the mountains run into the Pacific, and those on the east, into the rivers La Plata and Amazon, and ultimately into the Atlantic Ocean.

From Oruro, to the Cordillera of Vilcanota or Santa Rosa, where is the great wall built by the Incas to divide the departments of Colla-Suyo and Tavantin-Suyo, there is a beautiful valley of 100 leagues in extent, called Collao, and the waters which descend from the Cordilleras, and meander through this valley, form the great Lake Titicaca, situated in its center. There are two Cordilleras of the Andes which extend through this country from north to south, which are called the eastern and the western; the eastern is the loftiest, and its summits are covered with perpetual snow, while the western Cordillera exhibits less snow, and is more low, broken, and irregular, and therefore the communication between the intervening valleys and the Pacific Ocean, is not interrupted. The contrary is the fact with respect to the Cordilleras of Chili, which are impassable during several months of the year. Both Cordilleras are full of gold and silver ores, but it is on the eastern Cordillera only where the *lavaderos* or pure washed gold is found. The geographical position or latitude of this region has but little influence upon its productions, the fertility of its soil or the temperature of its climate; for, from the union of a variety of physical phenomena, such as the height of the Cordilleras and their being covered with perpetual snow,

their enormous masses, the extent of the plains, the declivities of the mountains, which present a broad aspect towards the east, it possesses a climate of almost every variety of temperature, and a soil, suited to the productions of Europe and Asia; of wheat and barley, wine and oil, cotton, indigo, sugar and spices; on the plains, which are clothed in perpetual verdure, there graze vast herds of cattle, horses and mules: in the middle regions of the mountains, which are covered with pines and oaks, &c. are found, a great variety of beautiful birds, among which are the parrot, ruisanor, &c. and in the loftier regions, which are bare, the ostrich; besides vast quantities of sheep, such as the Vicunas, Alpachas, Llamas, Guanacos, Chinchillas; some of which, particularly the two first, yield a wool of singular fineness. Besides all these things which are produced in this comparatively small district, there are also found vast quantities of ores of gold and silver, and of metals of every kind.

OF POTOSI.

This Intendency is bounded on the north by La Paz, on the west by the Pacific Ocean, on the south by Salta, and on the east by Charcas or La Plata. It is the most southern Province of Upper Peru, bordering on Rio de la Plata, and is divided into eight lesser provinces or sub-delegations, which are Atacama, Carangas, Lipez, Porco, Pilaya or Cinty, Tarija, ^{Chichas} Chayanta, and Paria.

Atacama borders on the Pacific ocean, and has Arica or Low Peru on the north, and Chili, or the deserts of the same name, on the south, which are sixty leagues in extent.

The high part of this Province is cold, and its productions are such as are peculiar to cold climates: such as farinaceous grains and roots. In the lower part, is the port of Cobija, (lat. 22°. 39'.S.) which is very much frequented by fishermen and coasting craft. Its trade consists principally in fish, of which there are two kinds that are caught in great abundance—the *congreo* and *tollo*—the latter similar to the codfish. This Province contains nine small towns, or villages, the chief of which is San Francisco de Atacama. The population is about 30,000 souls. It contains a mountain called *Concho*, which is celebrated for its copper mines; and here is a manufactory of copper hammers for the miners of Potosi. There are also ores of silver; and large masses of this metal in its pure state have been found here. There are also mines of cobalt; and jasper, talc, alum, and a variety of beautiful crystals, are found in abundance. By the river Loxa, the people of the interior of this Province carry on a trade with the coast of Peru.

Carangas is a considerable province; its chief town is Tarapacha, which is large, and inhabited by a great number of Spaniards and creoles, on account of the celebrated silver mines of Aullagas, which are within this Province. This Province,

like the others which lie on the Pacific Ocean, has a mild and temperate climate. .

Lipez, whose chief town is of the same name, has a cold climate, as it is situated on the Cordilleras. It is about sixty leagues west of the city of Potosi. In this Province are produced an abundance of horned cattle, sheep and goats : it is a fine grazing district. It has also rich mines of gold and silver. Here is the famous mine of the *silver table*, where the metal has been cut off with a chisel.

On the south and south-east of Potosi, lies the Province of Chichas, whose chief town is Tupiza. Through this Province runs the great post road from Buenos Ayres to Potosi. It is the largest province of Potosi, extending from north to south 144 miles, and from east to west 300 miles to the river San Juan in Tarija, by which it is separated from that Province. The Province of Chichas is situated one half on the mountains, which is cold, and the other half in the temperate and beautiful valleys of Tarija. The mountainous part is full of mines of gold and silver ; but principally of gold, of which the richest is the mine of Suyapacha, celebrated for the defeat of the royalists during the present revolution. Its chief town is Tupiza, which has a population of 5 or 6000 whites. In this town are the workshops or laboratories of the miners, for extracting the metals and refining them. During the present revolution, there have been produced here annually between 30 and 35,000 lbs. of gold and silver. The products of

the mines of Charoma, Estarca, and Cerrilos, are of a very superior quality.

The farmers of this Province rear vast numbers of asses and goats, of which the former is a great article of commerce ; and at Yavi in this Province are situated the large estates of the Marquis of Toxo.

The road leading from Buenos Ayres, which divides this Province from that of Tarija, is full of quartz, which contains gold, copper, lead, and iron, and at the small town of Mojos there has been discovered a stratum of magnetic iron ore, full of particles of gold, which is picked up after the heavy rains.

On leaving these cold regions, and travelling three hundred miles to the east and north-east of Potosi, after crossing a ridge of small mountains, we descend into the beautiful and fertile valleys of Tarija. There are four of these valleys, and within them are situated two lakes of salt water. It is difficult to describe the salubrity of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the abundance of the rivulets and streams which water these valleys. This Province is bounded by the deserted villages of Pilaya on the north and west, by Jujui on the south, and by countries inhabited by savage Indians on the east. The chief town, which is of the same name, is situated delightfully on the banks of the river Tarija, lat. $21^{\circ} 30' S.$; its streets cross each other at right angles ; its inhabitants are composed of all the different casts of the country, and amount to about 10,000 souls. It has two rich

convents, and sends a deputy to the general congress at Buenos Ayres. Its soil is humid and warm, well adapted to grazing, and produces oil and wine in great abundance; cotton of the finest quality, and flax, grow here spontaneously in the forests and fields.

Besides the richness of the soil, this province contains mines, which were formerly very productive, as that of Choco, which yielded gold ore, that afforded from 50 to 60 per cent, of the metal. Among the gold mines, that of Chiloco is the richest. The inhabitants of this Province are famous carriers, and remarkable for their physical strength. But notwithstanding the great fertility of this Province, it is sterile, when compared with the neighbouring country inhabited by the Chireguanos Indians.

Passing up the valleys of Tarija, we next arrive at the Province of Cinty or Pilaya, which enjoys a climate not inferior to any on the globe. It produces abundance of fine wheat, grapes, roots, &c. Of the grapes, are made wine and brandy, and if not of a superior quality, it is only owing to the unskillfulness of the manufacturer. The population of the chief town, of the same name, is 12,000, and of the whole Province 62,000. The rivers Toropalca, and Suypacha, which rise in the Cordilleras of Lipez, flow through these valleys, forming the great river of San Juan, which divides the two Provinces of Pilaya, and Tarija. This river, which is destined at no distant period to become the channel of a great

commerce, runs north until it unites with the river of Cinty, then winds ^{east} westward until it meets the Pilcomayo; then through the Indian countries, until it meets the Guadalquivir, which comes from the northern Cordilleras; then unites with the river Concepcion, and runs through the country of Chayhuaya, until it meets the river Salinas; then through the country of Gran-Chaco, where it meets the river ^{Paraguay} Bermejo from the north, ^{the Bermejo} which was navigated in 1794 by Cornejo, a citizen of Salta, ^{rises} below on the west, it meets the river Pescado, and runs to the valley of Senta and New Oran, a town built by Pizarro, the last President of Charcas, to encourage the navigation of the river; here it unites with the river Senta, and below is the river Santa Cruz, and all this part is navigable; afterwards it unites with the river of Salta and Jujui, where it takes the name of Rio Grande, and under this name runs to Paraguay, and there again takes the name of the Bermejo, and then running eastwardly twenty four leagues, to the city of Corrientes: it here finally assumes the name of La Plata, and running a south eastwardly direction, empties itself into the Atlantic Ocean. This river is navigable at least 1,300 miles, and within 300 miles of Potosi. The head of navigation is what is called the Pass of the Indians, forty leagues from the famous Indian town of Omaguaca, from which there is a good road to Potosi.

These rivers are full of fish of almost every kind, which constitute the principal food of the Indians of their borders, which abound with

forest and fruit trees, such as orange, peach, apple, &c.

I have been thus minute in my description of these rivers, as they may hereafter become the channel of an extensive commerce into the interior of Peru, and because this small Province of Tarija possesses a climate of such various temperature, that an inhabitant of Norway and of Italy, may find a climate like his own, suited to his constitution and habits.

On the north and east of Potosi, are situated the Provinces of Paria and Porco. The chief town of the former is Toledo, which was founded by the Viceroy of that name. This country is also cold. In the Cordillera of Condo-Condo, are mines of gold and silver. In this Province the river Desaguadero, which is an outlet of the great Lake Titicaca, is lost in the ground. the wool of this Province, and of which there is abundance, is equal to that of Segovia in Spain; the sheep are uncommonly large, and the mutton is very fat and of fine flavour. The best sheep sell for half a dollar each. The cheese, which is made of sheep's milk, is superior to the finest cheese of Europe, all the varieties of which I believe I have tasted; it is known as the cheese of Paria.

PORCO.

This Province extends 120 miles from north to south, and 180 miles from east to west. Its chief town is Puna, situated at the bottom of the mountain of the same name, where the Incas

procured immense quantities of silver, and even now, these mines are worked with great profit. Here the Spaniards are numerous, and they are generally engaged in mining. In this Province also, are mines of rock salt, in the town of Yocalla, from whence are produced vast quantities, which are used in the various processes of extracting the metals from their ores.

In the center of this Province is situated the city of Potosi, lat. $19^{\circ} 30'$ S. being 1650 miles distant from Buenos Ayres; 1215 miles from Lima; and 300 miles from the Pacific coast. The city is built at the bottom of the celebrated mountain of the same name, which is so famous for the immense riches which it has been continually pouring forth for three centuries. From whatever side you approach this mountain, you will be struck with its singular appearance. Its figure is conic, and it is covered with green, red, yellow, and blue spots, which give it a very curious appearance; it resembles no other mountain in the world; it is entirely bare, without any trees or shrubs. By its side there is a smaller mountain, called *Huayna Potosi*, while the principal mountain is called *Hatun Potosi*, meaning father and son. In the night, when the mouths of the mines are lighted up, the beautiful and striking appearance of this mountain can scarcely be imagined, much less described.

The city of Potosi is nearly three leagues in circumference; it is divided into the city proper, and *Yngenios*, where are situated the laboratories

of the miners, and which are separated by a small river called, the River of the Lakes, over which there is a stone bridge. The city and the *Yngenos* are nearly a mile apart. The streets of the city are narrow and irregular, and paved with round stones, with side walks. On the north of the city there is an extensive promenade, with fountains of water, but no trees or shrubs, and but a very little verdure, which is a small species of barley. The houses are uniformly of one story, built of stone and brick, with balconies of wood, and without chimneys. Each house has a yard, and sometimes three, in the rear, and in almost every yard there are fountains of water, which are lined with stone, and often very beautiful. The houses contain, generally, a drawing room, dining room, bed rooms, &c. and each servant has his separate apartment. The houses of the wealthy, who are numerous here, are splendidly furnished. At the time I visited this city, in 1808, there was a church rebuilding in the public square, which was not interrupted during the revolution, both Belgrano and Goyeneche giving orders that the work should go on. There are in the city three monasteries, five convents, and nineteen parochial churches. The churches of the monks and nuns are richly ornamented with silver. Every altar has its front of solid silver, and there are five altars in every church; also four chandeliers of at least two yards in height, with corresponding branches, all of silver. The

other churches are not so rich, but their utensils are always of silver. The Archbishopric of Charcas contains 180 churches, which are more or less furnished with silver ornaments; those churches near the mines are the richest, such as those of Puna, Chayanta, Popo, Tupiza, &c.

On the north side of the public square is situated the Mint, which is a grand edifice of free stone, of a quadrangular figure, two stories high, and nearly 450 feet square, including three pits or yards, together with offices for the governors and workmen, and apartments for the extensive machinery. Its corridors are of ivory, made at Biscay; the machinery for coining is very complicated, which was also brought from Spain, although the artists of the country do all the repairs, and are skilful engravers. The machinery is all worked by mules. The coining of this mint is superior to that of Lima, or Santiago.

According to official statements published in the "Mercurio Peruano," there were coined in the mint of Potosi, from 1790 to 94, both inclusive, the sum of \$27,967,566, which makes an average of \$5,593,513 for each year. According to the accounts of Humboldt, there were coined in the year 1790, \$3,942,592, and the proportion of gold and silver was as 1 to 200. It is generally understood at Potosi, that the common yearly average is about \$4,000,000. There is also a Bank in this city, called the Bank of St. Charles, which is established for the purpose of buying gold and sil-

ver bullion for the mint, at fixed prices; this establishment belongs, like the mint, to the government. The price of pure ingots of silver is \$1 an ounce*, and of manufactured silver or plate $87\frac{1}{2}$ cents; the price of gold is from \$12 to \$16 an ounce, varying according to its carats. These prices are always the same; the only difference is in the quality of the metal. The government enjoys the profit in these purchases.

There are six houses of public entertainment, or hotels, and a great number of tippling shops, in the city. There is a market-house of two hundred yards in length, which is supplied with every kind of production from all parts of the country; with fruits from the neighbouring vallies, such as chirimoyas, peaches, oranges, pine apples, &c. with meat and vegetables of various kinds. Fish, however, is extremely scarce and dear. The fish called *Dorado*, is highly esteemed, and commands a great price. It is reported in Potosi, that some years ago, a clerk of some rich man of that city, was sent to market to purchase one of these fish, and that he found the clerk of some other man of wealth, bargaining for a fine one; that the clerks got into a strife to see which would out-bid the other; that finally one offered \$5000, and took the fish; and the story adds, that the master of the

* The intrinsic value of pure silver, by the ounce in the United States, is \$1,29—of silver of standard fineness, \$1,15. Gold of 22 carats is worth \$17,77; of 24 carats, or pure gold, \$19,39. These are the mint prices; the prices of commerce are now much higher.

clerk who was out-done, was so incensed that he turned him out of his service.

Generally speaking, the markets of Potosi are as abundantly supplied (the article of fish excepted,) as those of New-York or Philadelphia. When I was there, I did not find the prices so extravagant as has generally been reported by travellers. Baron de Humboldt observes, that provisions are very dear in Potosi, without recollecting that the neighbouring countries are extremely fertile. The expenses of living are certainly much higher in Potosi than in any other city of Upper Peru; but are very low when compared to the cities of North America. The price of wheat flour is about \$1.25 per 100 lbs. and a fine-sheep sells for less than \$1. The roads leading into the city present a curious spectacle in the morning, of many thousand Llamas, asses, and mules, loaded with the produce of the country, for the market. The roads are irregular and broken, particularly to Condorapacheta, distant twenty-five leagues from the city, but by no means dangerous. The large timbers used for wheel axles in the mills, are brought from Tucuman on carriages. The road of Despoblado, which crosses the table land of the Cordilleras between Salta and Oruro, is more even and smooth, and on this road about 80,000 mules, in troops of from 4 to 5000, are driven annually to Lima to be sold.

The climate of Potosi is very cold; and, for the distance of twelve miles around the city, there are

no trees or shrubbery of any kind, and nothing vegetates except a species of green moss. In the months of May and June the mornings are extremely cold, as these are winter months in this climate ; but the nights are remarkably serene, and mild, and the sky is very beautiful. It is not so cold but that flowers are kept in rooms without fires, during the severest weather.

The houses are without chimnies and fires, and the apartments are kept warm by being closed during the cold season, and plentifully covered with Alpacha skins, and by burning perfumery in them. On entering a house, a visiter is always presented with a silver chafing-dish of perfumery burning ; this is always the first salutation.

There are frequent snow storms here, but the snow never remains on the ground longer than twenty hours ; the cattle are never housed.

On the hills above the town there are about thirty artificial lakes, for supplying the city with water, and turning the mills of the miners. It is a remarkable fact, that notwithstanding their great elevation, these lakes are never frozen over, although there is much frost in their neighbourhood on the mountains. It frequently happens that these supplies of water fail, for want of rains, and then the mills are stopped, and the operations of the miners in extracting the metals suspended.

The population of the city of Potosi, according to the calculations of Canete, who was Assesorgeneral of that Intendency, and had a perfect knowledge of all the country, amounted, in 1808,

to 40,000 ; and this statement I believe to be correct for that period. Mons. Fresier, who travelled in that country in 1714, says the population then was 70,000, and that the Spaniards were to the Indians as 1 to 6 ; that there were nineteen parishes ; now there are but sixteen. Wilcocke, in his history of Buenos Ayres, states, that in 1807 the population was 70,000, and that including all those employed in the various processes of mining, it would amount to 100,000 ; but Alcedo, who wrote thirty years ago, says the number of inhabitants then was only 25,000.

The rebellion of Tupac Amaru wasted the population of this city, and greatly checked its progress, but it has rapidly augmented during the last twenty-five years. The official statements published by the government of Buenos Ayres, give the population of the Province or Intendency as amounting to 112,000, without including Indians.

This city is the focus of all the commerce between Buenos Ayres and the interior Provinces, and is a place of great business. The *Azogueros**, or proprietors of mines, receive liberal advances from the government to enable them to carry on their works ; these advances are \$25,000 for every *Yngenio*, or amalgamation work, which each *Azoguer* shall establish, and some have two or three. This money is lent on the condition that

* In Mexico, the *Azogueros*, according to Humboldt, are miners, or those who are employed in the amalgamation of metals. In Peru, these persons are called *Beneficiadores*.

the government receive one shilling on every ounce of silver produced by the *Azogüero*. This class of men, whose capital is thus liberally augmented, have greatly increased the business, and added to the embellishments of the city. They live in the most profuse and princely style: it is not uncommon for them to possess gold plate: such as plates, goblets, spoons, forks, &c. They employ great numbers of clerks, and have numerous attendants.

This city is much frequented by strangers from different parts of the country; it is a place of great gayety and dissipation. There are no theatres, and the principal amusement for all classes is gambling; and faro-banks and billiard tables are scattered all over the city. The city is immensely rich in gold and silver; money is within the reach of every body, and very abundant, as may be supposed, when more than \$10,000 are coined every day, the year round. The *Azogüeros* are extremely profuse in their expenditures, squandering their enormous wealth with the same liberal hand with which it is poured into their lap. As the source of their wealth is in their inexhaustible mines, and if poor to-day, they may be rich to-morrow, their habits become essentially different from those of the merchant or manufacturer, whose profits depend upon calculation and economy.

The manufactures of this city are in a wretched state, being confined principally to the making of leather, hats, and tools from imported steel,

which is sold at an enormous price. The leather is made from goat-skins, which are of superior quality and very abundant here. Gold leaf is also manufactured in great quantities. This article is much used in the Churches, and the candles even are gilded before they are lighted; and in the private houses of the rich, the leaves of the flowers which they have in great abundance in their drawing rooms, are often gilded with gold leaf. There are no carriages in this city, and when the ladies take the air, it is on the backs of horses or mules, or in sedan chairs, which are very common. There are persons here whose profession it is to teach the mules and horses to travel with an easy gait, for the ladies. There is another mode of travelling which is curious: a chair is fixed on poles which are laid across the backs of two mules, and in which two or three persons frequently ride. The Countess of Casa Real, a few years ago, attempted to introduce coaches into the city, but the first time her carriage was drove into the street, it was fairly ran away with by the mules, and dashed to pieces against a Church. This city is situated on the side of the lower part of the mountain, in the valley at the foot of it, and is altogether too steep and irregular to admit of wheel carriages.

In the other part of the town, called *Yngenios*, which lies north west of the city, in the valley, are the mills or amalgamation works of the miners. The population of this part consists of Indians, Kaachas or Cholo miners, and other workmen, and amounts

to about 6000 souls. The Indians of the *Mita*, which is a kind of annual conscription, by which the Indians of several Provinces in Upper and Lower Peru are obliged to work in the mines, present a most miserable and shocking appearance; they are employed in the hardest labour of the mines, such as stamping the ores, raising them from the mines, and attending to the trituration, which is done by the mills, and by which they are continually exposed to inhale the deleterious powders of the minerals. The price of their labour is 50 cents per day, and although experience shows that their labour is not useful as they are unfit for mining, and those mines are invariably worked the best in which the Indians of the *Mita* are not employed, yet the infamous avarice of the *Mineros*, dooms them to these noxious employments. Ulloa had the wickedness to say that the labour of these Indians is not severe; and the dictionary of the Spanish Academy, ashamed of giving a correct definition of the *Mita*, has concealed the truth. (5) The poor Indians are obliged to sleep in the open, cold air, on the bare ground, and from their exposure, the noxious inhalation of the mineral dust, and the hardships of their servitude, at least one third of every conscription die.

The *Kauchas* are, from practice, well acquainted with the business of mining, as it is carried on in Peru. Their numbers at Potosi, are between 4 and 6000. Their wages are from 1 to \$2 a day, according to their skilfulness. The *beneficiado*-

res, have \$6 a day for superintending the works. The *Kaachas* are very fond of spiritous liquors, drinking at once, almost their daily wages. It is not their wages which induces them to labour, but a custom in the mines, which is this; the mines are worked from Monday noon to Saturday noon, on account of the proprietors; but from Saturday noon to Monday noon, including Sunday, the miners work on their own account. This is an ancient and inveterate custom, and cannot be changed. It frequently happens that the miners discover new veins, and sometimes take the ore of their employers, which was left by them at the end of their week's work, and extract the metal after their own fashion, and in the most rude manner. The quantity of silver obtained in this way, never has been calculated; and therefore all estimates of the quantity of the precious metals produced by the mines of South America, which have been made by travellers, must be erroneous. M. Torres, has justly applied this remark to the statements of the Baron de Humboldt, and adds, as a further reason for the inaccuracy of these statements, that they are taken from the registers of mints and custom houses, and that it is the interest of the miners and merchants to save, as much as they can, the high duties which are imposed upon the precious metals.

There are in Potosi, 120 mills or amalgamation works, although they are not all employed; each one has a large pit or yard enclosed, and various offices for the superintendants and workmen, and

stables for the mules. These mills resemble a common French plaster mill; the wheel is about 25 or 30 feet in diameter, and is so constructed as to lift up and down an iron or copper hammer, weighing 200 pounds; by which the ores are reduced to a fine powder. The timbers for the axles of these wheels are very long and strong, and each one costs about \$800; the great price is owing to the distance which they are brought, and the badness of the roads through which they are carried on rudely constructed carriages. The mills are attended each by two or three Indians, whose faces are muffled in order to prevent the inhalation of the mineral dust.

The process of separating the metals from their ores, which I witnessed in Potosi, is very well described by Wilcocke, and it is as follows: the ores are first reduced to a fine powder or flower by the hammers, which I have described; sometimes, in order to render them more friable, they are previously roasted, in an oven or furnace. The powder is sifted through fine iron or copper sieves which are large, and handled by four or five Indians; the fine powder is taken away for amalgamation, and the coarse is returned to the mill. The ore is sometimes pulverized dry, and sometimes with water; if dry, it is afterwards wet, and well kneaded with the feet for a considerable time, which is done by the Indians. The mud is then laid upon a floor in square parcels of a foot thick, each containing about 2500 weight, and these masses are called *cuerpos* or bodies. On these heaps about

200 pounds of common salt are thrown, which is moulded and incorporated with the metallic mud for two or three days. After this, the proportion of mercury which is judged proper, is added to the mass. The quantity of mercury used depends upon the supposed richness of the ore. They generally allow from four and an half to six pounds of mercury to one pound of silver. The masses are now stirred eight or ten times a day in order to promote the chemical action, and to accelerate the amalgamation of the mercury and silver; and for this purpose, lime is also frequently added, and sometimes lead or tin ore. In cold weather this process of amalgamation goes on slowly, so that they are often obliged to stir the mass, during a month or six weeks. When the silver is supposed to be all collected, the mass is carried to the *Tinas del Lavadero*, or vats, made of stone or wood, and lined with leather, into which a current of water is directed, to wash off the earth. There are commonly three vats through which the mineral is passed, and the same process is performed in each. When the water runs off clear, the amalgam is found at the bottom of the vats. This is put into a woollen bag, and hung up for the quicksilver to drain out; it is then beat with flat pieces of wood, and pressed by a weight laid upon it; when as much of the quicksilver as can be got out by this means, is expelled, they put the paste or residuum into a mould of wood, made in the form of a pyramid, at the bottom of which is a copper plate full of holes; after it

has become hard, the mould is taken off and the mass with its copper bottom is placed over a vessel of water, and is covered with an earthen cap or reversed crucible, on which ignited charcoal is placed in order to evaporate the quicksilver, some part of which is collected by the cap with which the mass is covered, and is saved. After the evaporation, there remains a lump of grains of silver, which require to be fused before they become united into a mass; they are then cast into ingots, which are stamped. The ingots are cast in a pyramidal form when destined for the mint; if intended for private use, they are moulded into a variety of fancy figures according to individual taste, and are frequently employed to ornament the houses of the proprietors of the mines. In these tedious and rude processes of amalgamation, it is calculated that one third at least of the silver is lost, and twice the time and expense incurred, which would be necessary, in a more enlightened mode, to complete the operation. Of the mercury, it is impossible to say how much is wasted, but according to Humboldt, the *Azogueros* of Mexico, by whom metallurgy is much better understood, lose in general from eleven to fourteen ounces of mercury for every eight ounces of silver. The *beneficiadores* of Potosi, are by far the most skilful of all Upper Peru. In the other provinces, instead of triturating wheels, they use grindstones to pulverise the ores, and every other operation is equally rude and slovenly. The mode I have described,

is the only one practised in Potosi, in extracting the metals from their ores, and the chemical principles upon which the various processes depend, are probably not at all understood by those who have practised them for many years.

The mountain of Potosi, which contains the far-famed silver mines, is 6000 *varas* (16,250 feet,) above the level of the sea, according to Luis Goudin, of the Academy of Sciences of Paris, referred to by Alcedo, in his "Dictionario Geografico de America:" and its height above the neighbouring plain, according to Baron de Humboldt, is 1624 *varas* (4397 feet). From these data we may fix the elevation of the city of Potosi to be about 11,000 feet above the level of the sea; an elevation nearly twice as great as the white hills of New-Hampshire.

At a point distant 1492 feet from the summit of the mountain, its circumference has been calculated at upwards of four miles; and at another point 980 feet lower, at upwards of eight miles. Alcedo states the circumference of the mountain at its base to be three miles, while Wilcocke says it is eighteen miles. I should not myself judge it to be more than nine; I have never walked around it, but I have frequently ascended to its summit; the walk generally occupied an hour. The view from the top of this lofty mountain is the most grand and picturesque in the world, of valleys, and lakes, and mountains; this is the loftiest point of the Cordilleras in that quarter, and I believe there are

but few peaks that are higher in all Upper Peru. But the sublimity and beauty of the surrounding scenery did not so much interest my feelings as the celebrated mountain under my feet, which has poured forth for so many years its lavas of silver upon the world;—to animate enterprise and reward industry; to pamper the luxurious, and minister to the comforts of the sober and virtuous; to disseminate knowledge and religion, and to spread the desolations of the sword—marshalling armies in the field, and pointing the thunder of navies on the ocean; filling cities with monuments of taste and art, and overwhelming them with ruin; founding mighty empires, and levelling them in the dust:—inciting, in short, to virtue and to crime, and being the source of much good, and the “root of all evil,” in the world.

This mine was discovered so late as the year 1545, by an Indian named Hualpa, and accidentally: as he was pursuing his goats up the mountain, he laid hold of a bush, whose roots gave way, and laid bare beneath it a mass of pure silver. In that country, however, the people say the first discoverer was not Hualpa, but Potocchi, Potossi, or Potocsi, from whom the mountain takes its name. The first man who commenced working the mine was Thomas Villaroel, a Spaniard. These mines produced, from the year of discovery to 1761, the sum of \$929,000,000, which have paid duties; and to our days, the enormous amount of \$1,043,083,733. From the rude mode of working the mines, and the ignorance of the

miners, the exterior part only of the mountain has been worked, and the quantity has decreased so little in so many years, that the silver extracted from these mines has only diminished in the proportion of 4 to 1. It has been ascertained, from experience, that the richest mines are the deepest; and this is the general fact with respect to the *table silver* mine, and all the other mines of Peru; and the deepest mines are, of course, the most exposed to inundations from the water.—The richest veins of Potosi have been inundated, and in consequence abandoned, and so has been the mine of Lipes, with whose owner I am well acquainted. When this mine was first discovered, he informed me that he cut the silver out with chisels, but the water soon flowed in, and obliged him to abandon it. In his prosperity, he would lose at the gambling-table thousands of dollars in one night, but when I knew him he was supported by the charity of his friends.

In order to draw off the water from the mines of Potosi, there was a subterranean gallery dug, under the direction of Weber, a German geometrician, who came to the country in the expedition of the Baron de Nordenflycht, sent by the Spanish government. The geometrician received his salary of \$ 4,000 a year, but his work did not answer the purpose, and it was only carried on by him from motives of private speculation. This gallery at its mouth is large enough to admit a man on horseback: it is ornamented with masonry of stone at its entrance, with an inscription of the time of

its commencement, &c. It extends into the mountain horizontally, diminishing in its size, for the distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 miles. Its sides are lined and its roof arched the whole way with stone. It is really of no sort of use, except as a place to confine culprits in; and here were sent the troops of Charcas who expressed themselves in favour of the patriots, by the President Nieto. The work was begun in 1779, and was still continued at the time I visited the mountain, in 1808. It is a monument of enormous expenditure, and of the most consummate folly.

Afterwards, another scheme to drain off the water was projected, which was approved of by the Spanish court; and by a royal decree of the 23d June, 1780, the colonial government was ordered to take measures to obtain accurate information upon the subject, and to employ some skilful person to take charge of the work. Don Rubin de Celis, a lieutenant in the navy, was sent to Potosi as a fit person to undertake the project. It was to be a gallery so dug as to intersect the principal veins of metal, and the shafts which had been sunk for the purpose of light and ventilation. He made all the necessary calculations of the direction and dimensions of the gallery, and its probable expense, which was estimated at the different sums of \$ 1,000,000 and of \$ 250,000, according to the mode in which the work should be executed. This project was never carried into effect; and the richest veins of Potosi are still inundated with water.

The road to the mines lies on the north side of the mountain, as do also the mines. It ascends in a zig-zag direction; it is very wide, but is rude, uneven, and stony. On this road there are constantly employed at least 20,000 asses, in carrying the ores from the mines to the amalgamation works. The ore is conveyed in bags made of skins, on the backs of the animals, no carriages of any kind being employed. There are a great many mines open on the mountain; the shafts are of various sizes and depths, sometimes perpendicular, and sometimes horizontal, pursuing the course of the metallic vein. They are extremely inconvenient to the workmen. In some parts there are spacious chambers excavated, where the ore has been taken out, the roofs of which are supported by huge pieces of timber. The ore is obtained without difficulty by the rude pickaxes and other iron and steel instruments of the miners. It is raised to the mouth of the mine, when the shaft is perpendicular, by ropes, which are pulled by the Indians, and when the course of the shaft is oblique or horizontal, it is carried on the backs of the Indians, in bags of skin. To afford him light in his dark retreat, the miner has a tallow candle, stuck in his button hole or collar. The convenience or comfort of the miners is never consulted, and when they come down from the mountain on Saturdays, they present a most hideous picture of filth. They collect in throngs at the tippling houses in the city, spending their week's wages in brandy and chicha, and they keep the town in an uproar, with the mu-

sic of their guitars and flutes, and their drunken brawls. In no other city of Peru do the miners present so miserable an appearance as in Potosi, for here only is the *mita* in force.

The ores from which the metals are extracted are of various natures, consistencies, and colours; some of which are white and grey, mixed with reddish spots, called *plata blanca*, or white silver. When this ore is broken, it exhibits grains of pure silver. Some ores are entirely black, exhibiting no silver, and these are called *negrillos*; some black mixed with lead, called *plomo ronco*, or coarse lead, in which silver appears when it is scratched with a hard instrument; this is generally the richest. I have seen specimens of this ore which when broken exhibited pure silver in lumps. There is another species which, if rubbed against any hard substance, becomes red, and is therefore called *rosicler*, resembling a rose; it is harder than any of the other sorts, and is very rich. There is another species which is brilliant like *talc*, and is called *paco*; there is also an ore which is green, called *cobrisso*, or copperish, and which is the most common ore; the others are rare. There are a great variety of silver ores in this mountain, the principal of which I have here given in the vulgar names of the miners, and at the same time have described their external characters, as they appear to the eye. These varieties are not so general in the other mines. (6.)

The ores of Potosi yield the metal in various proportions: soon after the discovery of the mines,

the average was from 64 to 72 ounces per quintal, (100 pounds). Since the commencement of the 18th century, the metals have produced only from 24 to 32 ounces per caxon of 5000 pounds, or from $\frac{43}{100}$ to $\frac{64}{100}$ per quintal. Baron de Humboldt, who makes these statements, also says, that from 1574 (29 years after the discovery) to 1789, the mean riches of the minerals have diminished in the proportion of 170 to 1; while, as I have before stated, the quantity of silver extracted from the mines has only diminished in the proportion of 4 to 1; and if they are not the richest in the world, they rank immediately after the mines of Guanaxuato, the most celebrated in Mexico.

LETTER II.

CHARCAS OR LA PLATA.

THIS Intendency is bounded on the north by Cochabamba, on the west and south by Potosi, and on the east by Santa Cruz de la Sierra, or Puno. It is divided into four lesser provinces or sub-delegations, to wit, Tomina, Punabamba, Yamparaes, and Chayanta. The population of the intendency is 112,000, without including Indians. The province of Tomina borders on the east on the country of the Chiriguanos Indians, and lies south of the city of Charcas, the capital of the intendency. Its climate is warm; it has some vineyards and sugar plantations, and rears fine cattle and sheep. In this province is the beautiful plain of Tarapaya, which is a delightful region.

Punabamba is bounded by Tomina on the north, by Potosi on the south, and on the east and south-east it borders on a country inhabited by savage Indians, and on the west and north-west it is bounded by the province of Yamparaes. It extends 72 miles from east to west, and 42 from north to south. It lies south-east of the city of Charcas. This province is full of cultivated farms; it has no mines that have been discovered. Its population is about 5000.

The province of Yamparaes contains sixteen towns or villages, and its chief town is San Sebastian. It is a small province, and mountainous. Its productions are wheat, barley, fruits, &c. for the

markets of Potosi and Charcas. It is situated a little south-east of the city of Charcas, the capital of the intendency. This province is watered by the rivers Pilcomayo and Cachimayo, which flow into the river La Plata, and which are celebrated for the abundance and excellence of their fish. The river Pilcomayo has a fine meandering course through this province, and its banks are clothed with verdure, and covered with forest trees.

Chayanta is bounded by Cochabamba on the north, by Oruro on the north-west, by Yamparaes on the south-east, and by Santa Cruz de la Sierra on the east. Its extent from north to south is 132 miles, and from east to west 108 miles. It contains 27 towns, and has a population of 30,000. In the mountains there are mines of gold and silver which have been worked. It contains some forests, and is principally an agricultural district.

The city of Charcas, the capital of the Intendency, is situated in the north-east part of it, and lies partly in the province of Yamparaes, and partly in that of Chayanta. It is distant 75 miles from Potosi, in a north-easterly direction, in latitude 19° South. This city, as I have stated, was founded by one of Pizarro's captains, in the year 1538, and on the ruins of the ancient Indian town of Chuquisaca*, by which name, as well as that of La Plata, or the *city of silver*, it is sometimes called. The population of this city is 15,000, of whom

* The Indian name, in the Quechua language, was Choque-Chaka, or *bridge of gold*. The Indians passed through this town, over the Pilcomayo, to the celebrated mines of Porco.

5000 are Spaniards and Creoles, and the remainder Mestizos, Indians, and Negroes.

The city stands in a plain, surrounded on every side by several small hills. Its climate is very fine, and its atmosphere serene; except in the rainy season, when there are sometimes thunderstorms. The streets cross each other at right angles, are very wide, well paved, and altogether the city is very neat. In the city there is a promenade, ornamented with colonnades and obelisks, in the centre of which is an artificial fountain of water. The houses are regularly of one story, with balconies of wood, and with spacious gardens in the rear. This city is the see of an Archbishop, who has an annual income of \$60,000 and upwards. The Cathedral is a very magnificent edifice; the gate is of copper, which was cast by a Cholo, and is very massy, and much ornamented. There are few churches in the world which are larger than this, and I imagine, fewer that can compare with it in the richness of its ornaments. Its pulpit is of solid silver, as also the smaller pulpits, from which the epistle and the mass are chaunted; its altars and huge chandeliers are also of solid silver. The palace of the archbishop is a splendid building, with grand saloons and spacious gardens with fountains of water; and it is furnished in a princely style. There are also in this city five convents, three nunneries, an university, two colleges, and an academy of lawyers. In the university and colleges there are about 500 students, who come

from all parts of the country. The price of tuition is \$120 per annum to each student. I have already stated the branches which are taught in these colleges; the study of mathematics and the natural sciences were prohibited by the Spanish government. In order to obtain admission into the law academy, it is necessary to have taken the degree of Doctor or Bachelor of Civil Laws in the university, which is obtained by undergoing a satisfactory examination in Justinian's Institutes, and which costs from 6 to \$800.

In the academy is taught the practice of the courts; and the regular course is two years; the candidate then is strictly examined before the judges, and if qualified, is admitted to the bar. This city is the seat of the Audience, or supreme court of justice, whose jurisdiction extends over the whole of Upper Peru. There are five judges, including the chief justice, who is called *regente*, and the others *oidores* from the Latin *auditor*; and an attorney-general, who is called *fiscal*. The *regente* has \$9000 salary, and the others \$4000 each. These judges are called the ministers of the king; they all come from Spain, and are very pompous personages. They are clothed with great power, and generally display the consciousness of it, in the haughtiness of their demeanour. A few years since a lady of Charcas left a sum of money in her will to be appropriated in soliciting the King of Spain to appoint the Deity an *oidor* of Charcas. The idea was perhaps impious, but it shows with what feelings these persons are regarded by the people, and the disgust which their manners excite.

ORURO.

THIS city is governed by a municipality independent of the provinces, and is not properly included in any of them. It is situated $17^{\circ} 58'$ south latitude, being 132 miles south-west of the city of La Paz, 171 miles north-west of the city of Potosi, and 150 miles west of the city of Cochabamba. It is admirably situated for a flourishing inland commerce; being 170 miles east of the port of Arica on the Pacific Ocean; and the post road from Buenos Ayres to Lima, and the road of Despoblado, from Salta over the table land of the Cordilleras, pass through it. On the east of the city, a distance of about six miles, is the river Desaguadero, which connects the two lakes of Titicaca and Paria. The city stands near the Cordillera of the coast, or western Cordillera, which is here much broken, and a good mule road passes over it to Arica. The town is built at the foot of the mineral mountain of the same name. Its figure is a crescent; it is well laid out, and its houses are regularly of one story. It has 5 convents. Its markets are well supplied, and with fresh fish from the ocean. The population is about 15,000; its climate is cold, and it is much exposed to the winds which blow from the Cordillera. The cattle and sheep of the neighbouring districts are very fine, and particularly the latter. Although the mines are generally poor, yet that of Popo (distant from the city 18 miles) previous to the revolution,

yielded annually 60,000 lb. of silver. There is a manufactory here of bridle bits, which is pretty extensive; the price of iron of which they are made is enormous, being sometimes \$80 for 100 pounds. There is also a manufactory of copper ware, and a famous powder manufactory, which is supplied with salt petre from the neighbourhood, which affords it in great abundance.

This city is the center of commerce for all the provinces, and during the revolutionary war it has constantly been occupied as the principal military position of Upper Peru. From it to Lima there is a good road, the country being almost a perfect level to Vilcanota, a distance of nearly 400 miles, and from that place to Lima, although the country is more rugged, a fine carriage road by the coast might easily be made; but the Spaniards, who are here the lords of the soil, from the sluggishness of their genius, and their entire destitution of public spirit, have neglected it; indeed, they have always conducted in this country, as if they considered themselves mere sojourners in it, and that the period was always near, when it would be wrested from them. There is not a single work of public improvement performed by them, to be found; no public roads, no bridges, no establishments of commerce, nor improvements of navigation. In this fine country, where nature is never idle, and where the choicest productions of the globe grow almost spontaneously, the hand of the Spaniard has never been employed, except in torturing the bowels of the earth for gold, to satiate the lust of

his avarice, or in oppressing the natives of the country, to gratify his pride of power.

Oruro was formerly inhabited by wealthy miners, but in the revolution of Tupac Amaru, it suffered severely. I particularly refer to the brothers, Rodrigues, natives of the country, who being accused by the Spaniards of being implicated in that rebellion, were arrested, their property confiscated, and themselves sent to Buenos Ayres, and thrown into a dungeon; and without being proved guilty of any offence, or even brought to trial, they suffered a confinement of twenty years, and until their death. These men possessed immense riches; on their arrest by Segurola, the governor of La Paz, there were found in their houses great quantities of silver, and their store rooms were full of ingots. This wealth, the value of which can hardly be estimated, was plundered from them in the most barbarous manner, and that wretch, Segurola, on his death-bed, being tormented by his guilty conscience, declared who were his accomplices in the infamous transaction. This mode of robbing the wealthy Creoles has not been uncommon in this country. I now know men residing in La Paz who have been made rich by this species of plunder; and it is well known that the discoverer of the mine of Laicacota was thrown into prison, and finally put to death by the Spaniards, whom he had generously admitted to participate in the riches of his mine.

LETTER III.

COCHABAMBA.

THIS Intendency is bounded on the north by Moxos and La Paz; on the west by La Paz and Charcas; on the south by Charcas; and on the east by Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and Chiquitos. These are the general boundaries, but its particular limits are well described by the celebrated Prussian naturalist Hænke. (7.)

The territory of Cochabamba forms an oblong tract of land, extending from east to west 520 miles, and from north to south 92 miles.

There is no province in the two Americas which nature has defined with such determinate and lasting boundaries as that of Cochabamba. The Rio Grande, a noble river, separates it from the districts of Chayanta, Yamparaes, and Charcas on the south; a chain of mountains situated in the interior, and whose summits reach the clouds, constitute a formidable barrier on the north, and separate it from the mountains of the Andes. The industry of man has with gentle advances, extended the territory of this province, and converted what appeared impenetrable forests, into the most beautiful and productive regions of the earth. The Rio Grande and the chain of mountains before mentioned, incline a little to the north of direct east lines, but their courses are always parallel. On the west this Intendency is bounded by that immense chain of mountains, which are

sometimes called the Cordilleras of the coast; and on the east, it extends to those vast unbroken plains which reach almost to the Atlantic ocean. On carefully considering the geographical features of this territory, it is found to slope off gradually from the highest elevations on the west into those unexplored and interminable plains on the east, where the empire of the native inhabitants, the Indians and wild beasts, has never been disputed. This declivity forms an inclined plane, whose elevated part is the highest point of the Cordilleras, and whose base reposes upon the lowest level of the continent. It is to this singular and happy position, that Cochabamba owes its fertility, and, that in so very small a portion of the globe, every variety of soil and climate in the world is found. On the summits of the Cordilleras, an eternal winter reigns, where the inhabitants of the remotest regions of Siberia and Kam-schatka, may encounter a climate as unfriendly as their own.

The interior or lower part of the Cordilleras contains immense quantities of metals, and the declivities of the mountains and the plains beneath, abound in every kind of mineral, saline, and vegetable production. The lakes of the country are inexhaustible fountains of common salt, which is dissolved in the rainy season, and crystallized in the dry; which process is rapidly carried on in a country of such great elevation. In these parts of the country are found plains covered with mineral alkali, (carbonate of soda.) *sal admirabile*, (sul-

phate of soda,) and magnesia vitriolada, (sulphate of magnesia). Descending from these mountains, upon the scattered rocks are found vitriol and alum, which are called *cachina* and *milllo*, whose masses are decomposed by the powerful hand of time.

Upon the tops of the mountains, which are covered with snow, where the atmosphere is too rare for the respiration of ordinary animals, are found the different species of the Peruvian Camel, the Guanaco, the Llama, the Alpacha, and the Vicuna: and the wool of the latter is esteemed the finest in the world. Notwithstanding the extreme barrenness of this Cordillera, and its great elevation, nature with a bountiful hand, and as if intending that every part of this most favoured and interesting province should minister to the comforts and necessities of man, has spread over its precipices and highest peaks, a multitude of healing herbs, whose medicinal virtues have placed them in the highest rank in the *materia medica*. These are *yareta*, *gentian*, and every species of *valerian*. Descending the Cordilleras to the neighbouring valleys, and the profound ravines, there is experienced, within a very limited extent, the influence of a climate extremely sweet and benignant, and which is at the medium temperature of the whole globe. It is here that nature has established a just equilibrium between the gradations of heat and cold, and which, in proportion to its elevation, and its particular formation, has tempered the intense heat of the torrid zone with the frosts of the arctic

circle. The mild and cheering temperature which in Europe prevails only in the spring, is here perpetual, and the variations of the thermometer between the heat of the rainy seasons and the cold of the dry, are so small as scarcely to be perceptible. This province produces in equal abundance maize, barley, wheat, vines, the olive, and all the fruits of the ancient continent. In the narrow defiles, watered by the rapid rivers of the Cordilleras, the refraction of the solar rays augments the heat, and the sides are covered with trees, whose numbers increase in proportion to their distance from the summits of the mountains. The mountains of the Andes, which are nearest to the elevated peaks of the Cordillera of the interior, have other modifications of soil and temperature, which are peculiar to Upper Peru. Trees and plants innumerable cover the soil with prodigious abundance, and fill the atmosphere with a salubrity and fragrance beyond any other region in the world. In this place, properly speaking, the temperature of the torrid zone commences. The fecundity of nature is here displayed in all its richness and beauty; all the animals, and vegetables of every variety and class, attract here the curiosity of the philosopher; and their number and beauty transcend the powers of imagination.

A considerable but uniform degree of heat, and a constant but agreeable moisture in the atmosphere, produce an equanimity of temper and of feeling, to which the people of variable climates are strangers, and which cannot be sufficiently ap-

preciated. This fertile soil produces the palm, the pine, or anana, the banana, so various in its species, cotton, Peruvian bark, and cocoa.

The union of the streams which take their rise in this chain of mountains, forms the immense river of the Amazons, and at the foot of the smallest chain commence those vast plains extending towards the east, whose limits have never been explored.

Such are the varieties of soil and climate in the province of Cochabamba, and from which its fertility and the multitude of its productions may easily be imagined. In this little work, the result of long and painful excursions, I have endeavoured to display, with all the order and method of which I am capable, the most interesting of its productions; they are worthy in all respects of the attention of the government, which in time will reap the greatest advantages, if it will patronise the exploration of it, since its productions are the most important materials—the elements and foundation of manufactures and the arts, and of all the objects of industry. The above are the observations, in substance, of Mons. Hænke.

The word Cochabamba, in the Quechua dialect, means *rich grass*, and the territory is aptly named. This intendency contains no provinces, and has no tributary Indians. Its population is about 115,000.

In descending from the cold and lofty plains of Oruro, the green verdure begins to appear when you enter the vale of Arque, where is experienced

an atmosphere which is loaded with fragrance; and in passing through this valley you meet with a cluster of cottages and flour mills, embosomed among the most beautiful fruit and forest trees. At a distance of thirty miles from Arque stands the city of Oropesa, or Cochabamba, (S. lat. $18^{\circ} 31'$.) the capital of the intendency. It is situated in a beautiful plain near the river Sacabo. The roads leading into the city are planted with lofty forest trees, resembling the finest avenues of Versailles. The city is square, and the streets, which are spacious, cross each other at right angles. It contains five convents and two nunneries; the former have extensive gardens, which are well cultivated, and the fruit orchards abound with fine fruit. The population of the city is about 25,000.

The inhabitants of this intendency consist principally of Mestizos and Cholos, and they are strikingly different from the population of the other provinces, being fairer and taller, and generally better made. The fairness of their complexion is certainly a phenomenon, the cause of which I cannot explain. They are industrious farmers, skilful mechanics, and possessed of superior intelligence to their neighbours; and during the bloody scenes of the present revolution, they have distinguished themselves as intrepid soldiers.

The eastern section of the intendency is called Valle Grande, which is a most productive district. The inhabitants are almost all farmers, who raise great quantities of wheat, which is sent to the markets of La Paz and Potosi, and the other

cold countries; and cotton also is cultivated in great abundance, which is declared to be of a very superior quality. They cultivate flax also in great quantities, but make no other use of it, except to extract the oil from the seed. This oil is a great article of consumption in the churches, being used to supply the lamps, which in those holy places are kept constantly burning. The farmers of this intendency rear a breed of horses equal in beauty and strength to the famous Chilian horses, and also vast numbers of asses. The products of this country are carried to market on the backs of asses; they have no other means of transportation, carriages being entirely unknown. Great numbers of asses are employed in this business; they are loaded with huge panniers or baskets, into which the goods are put, and they are then turned loose in the street, and driven along in caravans of 2 or 300. In this way are carried to La Paz, a distance of 240 miles, in great abundance, fowls, turkeys, bread, pastry, sweetmeats, and even eggs.

After the farmers, the next principal class of the population are manufacturers. Of the cotton, there were manufactured into cloth, in the city of Oropesa, in 1799, 1,500,000 lbs. which was all consumed in the country, and which sells at the rate of from 4 to 10 shillings per yard. Since that year, the quantity has considerably increased, and in the late European wars Cochabamba and Cuzco supplied the whole country with manufactured goods. There are manufactories of glass

bottles on the Rio Grande, and of earthen ware, which are rude and coarse indeed, but which are carried on to a considerable extent. They have also manufactories of glue, and they are acquainted with the art of dyeing. During the revolution, they supplied themselves with muskets of their own manufacture, made from a composition of copper and lead. They have some machinery, but all of their own invention.

There is but one mine here, which is that of *Choque-camata*, or *bed of gold*, which was formerly rich, but has been abandoned.

The people of this country rarely ride; indeed they are so much accustomed to walking, that it is reported of one, who having mounted an ass, and undertaking to count the number of his drove, forgot to reckon that on which he was seated, and supposed he had lost one.

The fruits of Cochabamba and Urubamba in Cuzco, are certainly the finest in the world. Of peaches they have 10 or 12 different species; some so delicate, that they will not bear transportation; they are like a syrrup in the mouth, and possess a deliciousness of flavour, which I shall not attempt to describe. Sweet and sour oranges, wild and cultivated, are found throughout the whole country, on the east of the Cordilleras, from Cochabamba to Lima; also, pine apples, bananas, lemons, pears, apples, plums, figs, grapes, olives, and in short, all the fruits of the old and new continent. Oranges are produced all the year round, the same tree exhibiting at the same

time, flowers and ripe fruit. There are also great varieties of fruits peculiar to the country; *chirimoyas*, which are exquisitely delicious, *bananas*, *granadillas*, *pacays*, &c. The trees which bear the *chirimoya*, are of the size of the apple tree, and the blossoms are wonderfully fragrant.

Besides the fruits of this district, there are innumerable flowering shrubs, which perfume the atmosphere; and great varieties of garden stuffs, kitchen vegetables, &c.

I shall be more minute in my description of the productions of this and the other provinces, after I have concluded my geographical survey of the country.

LETTER IV.

LA PAZ.

THIS Intendency is bounded on the north by the country of the Amazons, and the intendency of Cuzco in Low Peru; on the west by those of Puno, or Chùciuto, and Arequipa; on the south by Potosi and Charcas, and on the east by Cochabamba and Moxos. Its population is about 110,000, without including Indians. The western section of this intendency is an extensive plain, bordering on the eastern shore of the great lake Titicaca. The climate is cold, on account of its proximity to the Cordilleras, and its productions are principally potatoes and barley. The eastern part includes the eastern Cordillera, and its declivities, together with those fertile plains which extend towards Moxos and Cochabamba. Of this Cordillera, the highest peaks are those of Ancoma, or *hoary head*, in the north, and Ilimani in the south, distant about 100 miles from each other. The figure of Ilimani is pyramidal, resembling in many points the famous peak of Chimborazo, and it probably belongs to the same chain of mountains. Its top, in the dry season, is visible a distance of 150 miles: in the rainy season it is enveloped in clouds. The appearance of these mountains is wonderfully grand, and particularly when seen in the night time from the city of La Paz, situated in the valleys below, at a distance of thirty miles. You behold a lofty barrier

of mountains, stretching from north to south, with almost an uniform elevation, as far as the eye can reach, with summits crowned with perpetual snows the whole extent, except at the pass of Chulumani; and the sublimity of the view is softened into beauty, when you contrast their hoary summits with the green verdure of the forests on their eastern declivities, and the fertile valleys at their base.

The two points of Ilimani and Ancoma on the east, form the source of the river Beni, one of the branches of the Amazon; on the west their waters run into the lake Titicaca.

This intendency is divided into six lesser provinces or sub-delegations, to wit, Cica-Cica, Pacages, Omazuegos, Larecaja, Apolobamba, and Chulumani. Of these provinces the three first are situated on the west, and are cold and unproductive, but abundant in metals.

The province of Cica-Cica has its chief town of the same name. It is bounded on the west by the coast of Arica, and extends 75 miles from north to south, and 120 miles from east to west. Its population is about 25,000. This province is laid down erroneously in all the maps. There are here rich silver mines, and in the village of Ayoayo there is a salt spring, from which are produced vast quantities of salt, and of the finest quality.

The province of Pacages lies north-west of Cica-Cica; its chief town is Caquiavire. Its extent from east to west is 168 miles, and from north to south 120 miles. It is separated from the coast of

Arica by the western Cordillera. There are in this province 70 mines of silver which are worked; there is also a mine of emeralds. In the village of Berenguela there is a quarry of fine alabaster, which is beautifully transparent. It is frequently used for window lights, and particularly in the churches; and splendid jet d'eaux were constructed of it by the Jesuits of La Paz; and the upright pipes are so transparent as to exhibit the water as it ascends through them. Talc is also found here in abundance.

In the village of Tiaguanaco are situated the ruins of a palace of the Incas, which are now little more than huge stones piled one upon another.

The province of Omazuegos is bounded by Larecaja on the north-west, by Chucuito on the west, by Pacages on the south, and by the Cordillera on the east. It extends 120 miles from north to south, and from 48 to 60 miles from east to west; the chief town is Hachacache, 54 miles north-west of La Paz. Near this place is a famous wall of stone, which extends from the top of the Cordillera to the shore of the lake Titicaca, a distance of about 30 miles; commencing at the verge of the snows on the mountain, and losing itself in the lake. It was, no doubt, a work of the Incas; but its object has never been explained. Its height at present is uniformly about four feet; it has suffered very little injury from time. About 8 miles south of this wall are situated a cluster of Indian cottages, which must have been erected also in the times of the Incas. They are constructed of stones, neatly fitted together, and the

doors, or entrances, are observed to be remarkably small. There are some buildings among them which are higher than the rest; perhaps 40 feet high, and which resemble towers. These are not built of stone, but of a kind of cement, the composition of which is not known, and upon which the operations of the elements have made no impression. They are round, without doors, and are supposed to have been tombs. These monuments of the Incas are as indistructible as those of the ancient Romans, and are constructed after their fashion.

In this province is situated the village of Capacavana, which is a consecrated place; where the devout Catholics, even from Lima and Salta, resort to pay their worship to the *virgin Capacavana*. The church is fine, and constructed of stone, according to the regular rules of architecture. The riches of the church it is impossible to calculate. It has a chandelier of silver, with 365 branches, one for every day in the year. The virgin is placed on a wheel, which turns round to present her divine countenance to every part of the church. She is covered with diamonds, pearls, and precious stones, and every sort of rich jewelry, which is accumulated by the donations of the devotees. All this wealth is shamefully dissipated by the monks of St. Augustine, who have the custody of the virgin, and who have a convent in the place. This situation is much sought for by the ecclesiastics all over the country, as it affords them a fine opportunity for thieving.

In this province there are several mines of sil-

ver; also of quicksilver, in a mountain called Cobabilque, near the Estancia de Carbiza. This mine, when it was first opened, afforded great quantities of quicksilver, but it awakened the narrow jealousy of the vice-royalty of Lima, within which it was then included, and the working of it was prohibited, in order that the government might enjoy the monopoly of the mine of Huancavelica. In Spanish America the court of Madrid reserves to itself the exclusive right of selling mercury to the miners, and the quantity of silver produced depends very much upon the quantity and price of this article. In several other parts of this province, in Pucurani and Guarina, quicksilver has been found. The bottom of the mountains in this province is full of silver mines, but one only is worked.

The great lake Titicaca is situated on the west of this province. It lies 30 miles west of the city of La Paz, and the intervening country is a level plain. This lake is about 240 miles in circumference; its medium width is about 30 miles, and its principal direction is north-west and south-east. It contains several beautiful islands, which are fertile, producing corn, barley, potatoes, &c.

The north part of the lake is mild and temperate, and Orurillo, and other villages, on the northern extremity exhibit some lofty trees, and considerable vegetation. The shores of the lake are fertile, except in the immediate vicinity of the Cordilleras, where the climate is cold, and the soil comparatively unproductive. The temperature

depends altogether upon the proximity of the snowy mountains. On leaving the base of the mountains, you find a sensible increase of heat, in travelling even three miles. The borders of the lake are beautifully picturesque, and covered with villages and cultivated fields.

This lake abounds with fine fish, particularly the *Bogelia*, and on its shores and islands are found great numbers of water fowl of various species.

Nature has pointed out this great body of water as the channel of an extensive commerce among the interior Provinces, and between them and the ocean, but it has been neglected. From the western shores of this lake to Arequipa it is 75 miles, and from that city to the ocean 60 miles; making the whole distance to the ocean 135 miles; and although there is nothing but a mule road at present, it might easily be made into a good carriage road, as the Cordillera here is much broken. The mode of transportation is altogether on the backs of mules: these animals attain an extraordinary size on the coast, and they will carry 400 weight each, travelling unshod over the rough roads, with great expedition, and without stopping to feed, for a distance of 36 miles.

At present the lake is not at all navigated, except by the Indians in their canoes for the purposes of fishing. On the south, it has, as I have before stated, the outlet of the river Desaguadero, which empties into the lake of Paria, within 130 miles of Potosi. The lake Titicaca and this river,

together, afford navigable waters for a distance of 262 miles, and they lie directly in the route from Buenos Ayres, by Potosi, to Lima and the Pacific ocean; and at the distance of 40 miles up the river from Paria, stands the city of Oruro, the center of the inland commerce of the Provinces.

The Province of Larecaja is situated north of the city of La Paz. It extends from east to west 354 miles, and from north to south 90 miles. This Province begins at Ancoma, the north peak of the Cordilleras, and extends north to the Province of Carabaya in Low Peru. It is very irregular and mountainous, full of impetuous rivers which form the source of the river Beni, one of the principal branches of the Amazon. Its chief town is Zorata, situated at the bottom of the Cordilleras, and which contains 10 or 12,000 white inhabitants, who are principally engaged in working the gold mines of the Province. The whole Province contains 32 small towns or villages; the climate is varied, according to the elevation of the mountains, but is generally temperate; the rivers are uncommonly rapid and boisterous in their course, and full of cataracts. The ridges of the mountains as you go north from Ancoma, are full of mines of gold, and in the villages of Ananea and Yani there are rich mines which are worked. It is a remarkable fact in the geological history of this territory, that the gold mines commence at Ancoma (lat. 15° S.) and only occur as you travel north and east; while towards the south is situated the region of silver. The peak of Ancoma, like the

equator, divides this metallic region into two hemispheres, that of gold on the north and silver on the south.

The gold in the mines is found embedded in white and blue quartz, and frequently combined with other metals. It is frequently found united with silver, and the miners do not understand the mode of separating them. The price of this gold is less than that obtained by the washings, and commonly varies from 12 to \$14 per ounce.

The mode of separating the gold is very similar to that employed at Potosi, in extracting the silver from its ores; but the operation is much more rude and slovenly. The ores are in the first place broken into small pieces, and then ground to a powder, which is mixed with quicksilver until it forms an amalgam, and the quicksilver is then evaporated, leaving the metal, which is cast into ingots.

In this province, and the neighbouring province of Carabaya, in Low Peru, are the famous rivers where the pure washed gold is found, and of which I shall particularly speak.

In crossing the Cordilleras to the east, at the distance of 36 miles from Ancoma, you meet with the source of the river Tipuani, which afterwards takes the name of Beni. This river pours down from the Cordilleras like a torrent, and flows with an impetuous and roaring current the distance of 120 miles, through the narrow defiles of the mountains, in a northwardly direction,

to the village of Tipuani. In descending from the Cordilleras the distance of 20 miles, you enter a region where trees and vegetation begin to appear; and as you proceed northward you find a country covered with thick forests, wild barley, bananas, sugar canes, and all the various productions of the Amazons; with birds of every variety of plumage, and innumerable monkeys. The roads here are extremely rough, and impassable except on foot, or on the backs of mules.

On the banks of the river Tipuani are found abundance of gold in the most extraordinary manner, and in wonderful purity, it being $23\frac{1}{2}$ carats, $1\frac{1}{2}$ carat finer than the standard of the United States coin. The gold is commonly found in little grains of the size of barley corns, but sometimes in large lumps. The miner sinks a large shaft, close by the edge of the river, and until he meets with a pan of slate, which is called *Penna*; the water is then taken out by the Indians with buckets, one standing above another. This is a most tedious and expensive operation, and frequently occupies two or three months of the dry season. The Indians receive for this service six shillings a day, and there are frequently 200 employed in one mine. After the water is thrown out, galleries are dug in different directions, according to the course of the metal; and in these the gold is found, mixed with a hard blue clay, which is all taken out together. The gold is found every where on the banks of the river; I have frequently seen the experiment tried, and never knew it fail. This gold and clay together

are put into a canal constructed with slate, and whose bottom is an inclined plane, into which a current of water is introduced, which washes away the clay and earthy particles, and leaves the heaviest particles of the gold behind, which are collected and put into sacks, and carried to La Paz, where they are cast into plates or ingots of 4 lbs. each, and which are worth \$1,000. The light grains are washed away by the water, and are afterwards picked up by the poor people, who sometimes employ quicksilver for the purpose. The workmen employed in the mines depend more upon their opportunities for thieving than upon their regular wages as a compensation for their services. They have a dexterous mode of throwing bits of gold into their mouths as they pick them up, in which way they collect a good deal of gold, in spite of the vigilance of the overseers, of whom there is one appointed over every 50 workmen.

When the banks of the river are very high, canals are dug to drain off the water, and rocks are sometimes found upon the surface of the ground, which are removed by blasting with powder, and which is a very expensive operation.

Provisions in Tipuani are very dear, being brought a distance of 2 or 300 miles; there is no agricultural industry carried on here, although the country is the most fertile in the world. Brandy is much drank; it is an article of prime necessity among the miners, and is sold at a very high price.

In conducting these *lavaderos* or washings, eve-

ry operation is carried on in the most expensive, rude, and slovenly manner, and machinery is entirely unknown. The expenses of working a mine are frequently \$14,000 in three months, and when we add to this the quantities of gold which are pilfered by the workmen, it is evident that the mines could never be worked with profit unless the product was very large. According to the official reports of the *Balanzario* at La Paz, where the gold is registered, the annual product from this river is 35,200 ounces; this does not include the quantity appropriated to private ornaments, nor that which is not registered by the proprietors, or which is pilfered by the workmen. In the neighbouring province of Carabaya, in which the river is of the same character, and the gold of the same carats, the amount which has been registered, according to Alcedo, is \$33,000,000. This gold is never sold for less than \$16 an ounce.

These mines were worked in the times of the Incas, who appear to have been well acquainted with the richest mines in the country. There are frequently found near these mines, tools of copper and tin, which belonged to them. Their routes from the mines were straight across the mountains to their capital.

The miners here, like all others, have their alternations of wealth and poverty. They are frequently extremely rich. There were, a few years since, two Portuguese, named Suares, who opened a mine which yielded them vast quantities of gold. They had many boxes filled with this precious

metal stored away in their houses. They fell in the revolution of Tupac Amaru, and all their gold was dissipated; but after the troubles were over, the Indians returned to their sons \$60,000 a piece, which had been saved.

The gold is conveyed from Tipuani in sacks of skin, which are carried to La Paz on the backs of Indians, and with perfect security from robbery, through the thick forests; the usual load for an Indian carrier is 5 arobas, (125 lbs.)

The rivers Challana, Suches, and Vilaque, which rise in the same chain of mountains, unite at Tipuani, and form the great river Beni. There are also *lavaderos*, or gold washings, on these rivers, where the metal is found in abundance.

The town of Tipuani is situated on the northern extremity of this province, and here the river, as it assumes the name of Beni, loses its rapid course, and flows with a smooth and even current towards the east. Here the river is more than a mile wide, with sufficient depth of water to float vessels of considerable burthen. The Indians come to this town in their canoes, carrying 20 or 30 Indians, from the country of Moxos, and the establishments of the Missions, three or four hundred miles down the river. There is no doubt that from the town of Tipuani, the river of Beni, and the Amazon, with which it unites, are navigable to the Atlantic Ocean. In the revolution of Tupac Amaru, Estrada, a citizen of Zorata, fled from the country, and went down this river in a canoe to Reyes, a vil-

lage of reduced Indians, where he got on board of a Portuguese vessel, and went to Spain, carrying with him immense treasures.

At Tipuani the country becomes level, and stretches off towards the north and east, into expanded plains covered with forests, and exhibiting gentle undulations of hills clothed in luxuriant vegetation. From the top of the mountain of Silla, near Tipuani, the view is entirely open towards the north and east. I do not imagine that a finer country can be presented to the human eye; and when we consider that in the neighbourhood are mines of gold, the richness of which has never been explored; that here are groves of costly woods, and forests of the finest timber trees, with a soil of great fertility, and capable of producing all the various productions of the east, not excepting the cinnamon and spices of the Indian Isles, and that all these things are seated at the head, and on the borders of waters navigable to the Atlantic Ocean, we must be satisfied that the brightest visions of fancy can scarcely portray the future riches of this favoured country; its importance to the commerce of the United States; the changes which will be wrought by its independence in the political economy of nations;—in short, the floods of wealth which will roll down the broad bosom of the Amazon and its tributary streams, to enrich the world!

The Indians who resort to Tipuani are those of Reyes, Mapiri, and Lecos, villages recently reduced by the friars of St. Augustine. These peo-

ple are much fairer than the other natives of this country, are neat in their apparel, and cleanly in their persons, using frequent ablutions. They have manufactories of curious fabrics made of the bark of a tree common in the country, probably the paper mulberry. The bark is pounded fine, dissolved in water, and sized with some resins of the country, and is then made into a fabric resembling coarse paper, and which is made in a similar manner. This fabric is used for the various purposes of clothing. They also manufacture a stuff of the wild cotton, which is produced in abundance in their forests. Another kind is made of the plumage of beautiful birds, interwoven with twine. They also make a species of tapestry, not unlike the hangings of the parliament house of Great Britain, and in which is wove the figures of men and animals. Also combs of curious workmanship, of a kind of wood called *chonta*, which resembles ebony. Their skill in archery is truly surprising. I have seen them play with an orange, tossing it into the air, and hitting it with their arrows, and keeping it from the ground, for an hour together. They will hit a bird on the wing at a considerable distance, and with unerring certainty. Their arrows are tipped with the *chonta* wood, and in war are poisoned. These Indians are very fond of iron instruments, and will barter their beautiful fabrics for tools of any kind. Their character is generally mild and peaceable; they are entirely under the subjection of their Friars. In the north part

of this province are situated the villages of Consata and Charasani, inhabited by the famous pedestrians, of whom I have before spoken.

The province of Apolobamba is situated north of that of Larecaja, following the range of the Cordilleras. It is 240 miles from north to south, and 120 miles from east to west. This province is extremely rude and mountainous on the west; on the east it slopes off into extensive plains to the river Tuychi. Its population amounts to 30,000, and consists principally of civilized Indians. There are a few Spaniards and Creoles, who are proprietors of large plantations. It contains eight small towns or villages, and its chief town is St. Antonio de Aten. The north-eastern part of this province borders on the country of the Amazons.

In this province there is an extensive cultivation of cocoa, which is equal to that of Sochonosco in Mexico, which is esteemed the best in the world. It is an article of great consumption among the people of this country; its price is \$1 a pound. Rice, cotton, wax, &c. are produced in abundance.

The province of Chulumani is situated east of the city of La Paz. It extends 150 miles from north to south, and 90 miles from east to west. It contains twenty small towns. Its chief town is Coroyco, situated on the east of the Cordillera. In this province are the *haciendas*, or plantations of *coca*, by which the whole country is supplied with this article. It is the tobacco of the Indians, used universally by them, but never by the whites. It is the leaf of a small tree, which is chew-

ed. They are plucked in May and November, and sometimes three times a year, dried in the sun, then tied up in bundles of 22 lbs. each, pressed, steeped in lye, and sent into the market for use. A bundle is worth from 8 to \$12. Its sales amount at least to \$4,000,000 annually at La Paz, and it constitutes a great branch of the trade of this city. Its taste is bitter; it is warming to the stomach, and a sudorifick to those who are not accustomed to it. It is an article of the first necessity to the Indian; he cannot labour without it, and prefers it to his food. Coffee is produced here, which is occasionally drank, but not so abundantly as chocolate, which is the universal morning beverage of the country. There are some vineyards here, but not very extensive. This province being almost exclusively devoted to *coca*, the provisions are brought from the neighbouring countries.

The city of La Paz, the capital of the Intendency, is situated in latitude 16° 30' south, 180 miles east of the Pacific coast. It was founded by the licentiate Gasca, after the battle of Guarina, at the period of the conquest. It stands on the site of an ancient Indian village, called in the Aymara dialect, *Choka-Yapoo*, meaning *farm of potatoes*, and not of *gold*, as some historians have asserted. The Aymara language was only spoken in this section of the country, an ignorance of which fact has led the celebrated Humboldt into an error when he says, "That from the plain of Tiahuanaco, situated between the cities of

Cuzco and La Paz, descended numerous and powerful tribes, who carried their arms, *language*, and arts even to the northern hemisphere." And besides, the most fertile countries are not in the north, but in the south: to wit, Cochabamba, Tucuman, and Chili.

This city is sometimes known in that country under the name of Chookeago. It is situated in a hollow, considerably below the elevation of the plains which extend from the Cordilleras to the lake. You approach the town by a gradual descent of three miles, and the whole city stands before you, appearing 'one red,' the roofs of the houses being covered with red tile. The city is divided by the river Chookeago, which, rising in the Cordilleras, takes a southerly direction, bending round the base of Ilimani, and then runs north, until it unites with the Tipuani. In the city there are four stone bridges across the river. The streets are rectangular, paved, and of convenient width. The dwelling-houses are principally built of stone, of two and three stories high; and many of them exhibit much taste and elegance in their structure. In the public Square, there are some splendid edifices, and in the centre of the Square stands a fountain of water constructed of transparent alabaster; and indeed there are fountains at the corners of almost every street. There are five convents, three nunneries, and five parochial churches, and these convents and nunneries are extremely rich. In the nunnery of Concebidas, there is a figure of the sun, for exhi-

biting the Host, made of gold and diamonds, and standing on a pedestal of solid gold of a yard and a half high. The rays of the sun are gold studded with brilliants. The Cathedral is full of silver; the front of the altar even to the roof, is covered with this precious metal. The cups of the sacrament are of pure gold. The bells of the Church are large; for ringing them at funerals, a duty is paid, which is \$100 when the great bell of the Cathedral is tolled.

The literary institutions consist of one poor college; but what I must not omit—for it is creditable to the humanity and intelligence of the citizens—is an alms-house, where the poor are entertained. In traversing the streets, you as rarely meet a beggar as in the city of New-York. This is the only institution of the kind to be found in South America.

The climate of La Paz is cold, although it is mild at a little distance from the city, as you recede from the Cordilleras. The city stands at the base of the lofty peak of Illimani, which almost overlooks it, and whose snowy summit and verdant sides exhibit a fine view. This mountain seems obnoxious to thunder storms, which are frequent on its ærial top, and which at times greatly enhance its native sublimity. The plains surrounding the city are clothed in perpetual verdure, and are very fertile, supplying the city with potatoes, barley and vegetables. The markets of this city are reckoned the best in Upper Peru: the supply of fresh fish from the lake and the ocean, is constant.

and abundant: fruits are plenty at all seasons of the year: wines and brandies are supplied in abundance from the Pacific coast, sugar from Cuzco, and wheat from Cochabamba. At a distance of 20 or 30 miles below the city, on the banks of the river, are some flourishing vineyards, producing red and white grapes, from which considerable quantities of wine are made. There is a great scarcity of fuel here; that which is used is charcoal, and not unfrequently the excrement of animals. It was one mile from this city that a mass of pure gold was found by an Indian as he was bathing in the river, which was valued at \$11,269. It was purchased by the Viceroy Castelfuerte, and sent as a present to his sovereign.

The population of this city is about 40,000. In the rebellion of Tupac Amaru it suffered severely, but having recovered its ancient prosperity, its situation was such as I have described it in 1808. It was in this city that the fire of the revolution first burst forth, and here it has burned the brightest. Inhabited by a brave and high spirited people, many possessing splendid fortunes, and some of noble blood, it has been the scene of the most fearful and desperate struggles for independence. The hurricane of war, at one period, swept its population into the desert, where they fell either by famine or the sword. At another time, their wells of water were poisoned by infernal conspirators, and a barrack of patriot soldiers was treacherously blown up, and 300 men perished. It was this devoted town that the monster, Goyeneche,

converted into a human slaughter-house, butchering the miserable inhabitants with his own hands. Unhappy city of my birth! the period of thy sufferings is hastening to a close; already the thunder of war is dying away in the distance; brighter days begin to dawn upon thee, and soon shall thy deserted streets resound with the enlivening hum of business; and from the ashes of thy slaughtered heroes, there shall arise a people to emulate their virtues, and to restore to thee more than all thy ancient splendour!

LETTER V.

SANTA CRUZ DE LA SIERRA, OR PUNO.

THIS Intendency is bounded on the North by Chiquitos and Moxos; on the West by Charcas and Cochabamba; on the South by the Chiriguano and other tribes of Indians, and on the East by Chiquitos. The population is 100,000. It is divided into two departments, Misque and Santa Cruz, from which the Intendency takes its name.

The department of Misque is bounded by the Cordilleras on the North, by Cochabamba on the West, by Charcas on the South-West and South, and by Santa Cruz on the East. Its climate is warm. The chief town, which is of the same name, stands in a fine valley of eight leagues in circumference, and its population amounts to 12000. This is an extremely fertile province, producing in great abundance, corn, sugar, grapes, bees-wax, and honey. Within this province is situated the Lake of Xaraes, which is of considerable magnitude, and well stored with fish. Misque in former times was a town of some importance, but it has latterly fallen into decay: there being no mines in its neighbourhood, many of its inhabitants have removed to other places.

The province of Santa Cruz is situated east of Misque. The Chief town, which is of the same name, and is the capital of the Intendency, was founded by Chaves, one of the companions of Pi-

zarro in 1560, in latitude $18^{\circ} 4'$ South, but was afterwards, in 1575, removed to its present position in latitude $17^{\circ} 49' 44''$ South, and $62^{\circ} 24'$ West longitude from Paris, at the foot of a small range of mountains on the North of the Intendency. Some of the inhabitants of the former town did not accompany the others in the removal, but constructed a barque, in which they sailed down the river Mamore, and thence into the Amazon, and finally arrived at Cadiz.

The productions of this province are the same as those of Misque, but the culture of them has been neglected. There are no mines in the province.

MOXOS AND CHIQUITOS.

These provinces, which were established by the Jesuits, have been, since their expulsion, subjected to a military government. Moxos was conquered from savage tribes by the Incas, and made part of their great empire. It extends from North to South 360 miles, and nearly the same distance from East to West. It is bounded by the country of the Amazons on the North, by Cochabamba and La Paz on the West, by Chiquitos on the South, and on the East by the dominions of Brazil. This province is watered by three rivers, Beni, Mamore, and Santa Cruz, which take their rise in the eastern Cordillera, and flow into the Amazon.

There are in this province 15 villages, which are situated on the banks of the above mentioned rivers, and are regularly laid out. The houses are of wood. The population of the province is 22,000.

Chiquitos is separated from Moxos, on the North by the mountains of Tapacares; on the West it is bounded by Santa Cruz de la Sierra, on the North by the forests of Zamucas, and on the East by savage Indians. It contains 10 villages, and has a population of about 20,000.

The two provinces of Moxos and Chiquitos extend from 14° to 20° South latitude, embracing a fine and fertile tract of country. In the province of Chiquitos there is a beautiful valley of 120 miles in extent. In almost every village, there are churches of regular architecture, richly decorated, and what is particularly worthy of mention, are the choirs of musical instruments in every church, such as organs, harps, violins, and which are played with admirable skill by the Indians, who are carefully taught sacred music by the friars.

In these Indian villages or missions, there are manufactories of superior cotton fabrics, such as calicoes, diapers, and a stuff resembling merseilles. The Indians are excellent cabinet-makers, making beautiful furniture out of the fine woods which are abundant in the country. They cultivate cocoa and coffee; make great quantities of white and yellow wax, which is an article of great demand for the churches. The king and the priests have all the profits of their industry: the government

has a factory in the country, where all the manufactured goods and the products of the soil are collected, and from whence they are sent to Charcas and other markets to be sold.

The climate of these provinces is like that of the East Indies, with half-yearly alternations of rainy and dry weather, and the productions are similar. Cinnamon is produced in abundance and when cultivated, is not inferior to that of Ceylon. The forests are full of balsamic, resinous, and odoriferous trees. Here are found Peruvian bark, vainilla, ginger, gum copal, and all sorts of resins and healing balsams. The forests of these provinces, and all that is called *Montana real*, are the finest botanic gardens in the world. Birds are found of almost every variety, and of the most beautiful plumage: there being no unkind winter here to destroy them, or drive them into warmer latitudes. There are some beasts of prey, and snakes which are poisonous. The rivers and lakes abound with fish. Honey is collected in great quantities in the forests; and in the north part of Moxos, there is found the silk worm, but it is not cultivated; the mulberry, upon which it feeds, is a common tree of the country.

In short, throughout the whole range of these provinces, there is found all the variety of animal and vegetable productions, which are peculiar to the torrid zone in any region of the globe. Indeed, it is a sufficient eulogium upon the climate and the soil of these provinces, that they were se-

lected by the Jesuits for the establishment of their missions.

The Indians who inhabit this country, are fairer in complexion and better made than those of any other province. By nature they are a noble race of men; but they have been prostrated by the united influence of the government and the church. They are subjected to odious servitude, and they have no other reward but their bare subsistence. Whatever they are taught is only with a view to enlarge their capacity to minister to the comforts and luxuries of their selfish and crafty oppressors. They are carefully kept ignorant of the Spanish language, of reading and writing, in order that their subjugation may be complete and perpetual.

ARICA AND MOQUEGUA.

Although the provinces I have described are all that are included in Upper Peru, I deem it proper to bestow some attention upon the adjacent Pacific coast, and the ports which it comprises, as they hold an important commercial relation with the interior provinces. The vast chain of mountains extending through this country, from Cape Horn to North America, is here called the western Cordillera of the Andes, and forms a barrier which divides what is called *La Sierra*, or the cold and lofty regions, from the temperate, or the coast. Along the Pacific coast, for an extent of 500 leagues from the deserts of Atacama towards the north, it never rains, nor is there any thunder or

lightning. This singular phenomenon has established here a perpetual spring. A gentle mist or dew falls from May to September, to moisten and fertilize the earth, and water, for the uses of the inhabitants and their cattle, and for the purposes of irrigation, is abundantly supplied at all times from the Cordilleras. This tract of country along the coast, which is in width not more than 60 miles at any point, produces wheat, wine, oil, sugar, Indian corn, *agi* or Guinea pepper, and cotton. The principal productions are wine and oil; there are many vineyards and plantations of olives. Cotton is produced all the year round, the tree bearing both flowers and fruit at the same time; the annual yield here of the cotton tree is at least double that of the interior provinces, or of Asia, where one half the year there are constant rains, and the cotton is also much whiter from the same circumstance.

The principal ports of this coast, adjacent or nearest to the interior provinces of Upper Peru, are Pisco, in lat. $13^{\circ} 45'$ S. long. 76° west from Greenwich; Camana, Mollendo, Quilca, lat. $16^{\circ} 13'$ S.; Ilo, $17^{\circ} 36'$ S.—this is a fine port, with good anchorage; Arica, lat. $18^{\circ} 20'$ S.; Iquique, lat. $20^{\circ} 7'$ S. From this port to that of Arica, the intervening coast is high and clear. The port of Iquique is very commodious, affording good anchorage in a bay of about 6 miles long, with from 8 to 16 fathoms, and a fine sandy bottom. There is a small Island in front of the town, and the usual place of anchorage is to the leeward of that, be-

tween two small rocks which appear above the water. Cobija, a port in the province of Atacama, in Upper Peru, is situated in lat. $22^{\circ} 39' S$. It is to these ports that the products of Arequipa, Cuzco, La Paz, Cochabamba, Potosi, and all the towns between the two Cordilleras, are carried. And in these ports, the English, during the late continental war, carried on a great traffic, in spite of the prohibitions of the Spanish laws.

I have already remarked that the metallic regions of this country are near the coast. The provinces of Arica and Moquegua are included in the intendency of Arequipa, in Low Peru, and extend 246 miles from north to south, and 48 miles from east to west. In this tract are situated the vallies of Moquegua, Locumba, and Tacna.

There are 52 villages in these provinces: the chief towns are Arica and Moquegua; the population is about 32,000, of whom there are 2821 negro slaves, and 1872 free negroes—the remainder are whites, Indians, and mulattoes.

Arica was formerly a considerable town, but it has declined; it contains at present about 3000 inhabitants. The houses are low, with flat roofs, which are mostly covered with mats. The principal production of this province is *agi*, or Guinea pepper, whose annual produce amounts to about 600,000 dollars.

The city of Moquegua is situated in the interior, about 50 miles east of the port of Ilo, in a valley extending from the coast, and further inland.

It contains about 12,000 inhabitants." In its neighbourhood are produced annually about 400,000 gallons of wine, besides considerable quantities of oil. The Count of Alastaya resides here, who is a great proprietor of vineyards. The valleys of Locumba and Tacna also produce an equal abundance of wine. The wine is principally consumed in the country, and great quantities of it are manufactured into brandy, which is much drank.

There are produced here two varieties of wine, white and red, and of different qualities. The red wine, when kept in the cellars of the convents or of private gentlemen, for any considerable time, becomes of a fine quality, and is esteemed by connoisseurs equal to the wines of Spain. The price of these wines in La Paz, is 8 or 9 dollars for two arrobas (50 lbs.); it being sold by weight. The price of brandy is less. The mode of transporting these liquors into the interior is curious; it is carried in goat-skins, called *odres*, on the backs of mules. The skins are taken from the goats in the most barbarous manner: the animal is suspended alive by his horns—the skin is then loosened around the neck, and stripped off! The skin is afterwards dried, and partially tanned, then tarred on the outside, when it becomes fit to receive the liquor. Each *odre* will commonly hold from 20 to 30 gallons. The wine is preserved in the vaults of the churches, in large vats, or reservoirs, lined with clay, and which will contain many hogsheads: it is

kept in this way thirty and forty years and longer; wooden casks are unused, and almost unknown.

The *agi* or Guinea pepper is an article in great demand, it is eaten by all classes of people. The price is from 4 to \$5 for one aroba (25lbs.) The price of cotton is 10 or 12 shillings for an aroba. These are the prices at La Paz; they are much lower where the articles are produced, the expenses of transportation being very great. They are carried to market on the backs of mules and asses. These animals are bred in Tucuman and are brought here young; they are fed on a species of tall grass, called *alfa-alfa*, which is very abundant, and upon which they fatten very fast, attaining to extraordinary strength and size. A considerable portion of the population of these provinces are muleteers.

The cochineal is found in its native state along the coast; this insect feeds upon the fruit of a small tree, called *nopal* or *hygopal* (indian fig tree,) and which is designated by some Botanists under the name of *cactus opuntia maxima*, and by Linnæus under that of *cactus coccinellifer*. The indians use this insect in dyeing the wool of the Llama and Alpacha, and which do not lose their brilliant and glossy appearance. The use of the cochineal as a dye-stuff, was known in the times of the Incas; there are fabrics and paintings at Cuzco, made in ancient times, which exhibit the same red colours, as are now produced by the cochineal. The Spaniards have entirely neglected its cultivation here, although the climate, there be-

ing no rains, is much more favourable for its successful production than in Mexico, where, during the rainy season, the insects are obliged to be housed, or removed into districts, in which the rains occur at a different season of the year.

In the valleys of Tackna, situated a few leagues inland from the port of Iquique, there are many vineyards, and there is also a rude manufactory of glass. The vineyards and olive plantations in these provinces, are manured by a kind of yellow earth, called *huano*, which is supposed to be the excrement of sea birds. It is procured from two small islands, one situated near Arica, and the other in the bay of Iquique, which are inhabited by indians and negroes. This earth is so fertilizing, that it is supposed to enrich the soil at least one hundred fold.

At a distance of about six miles from Iquique, are situated the silver mines of Huantajaya, which are surrounded with beds of rock salt. These mines furnish annually from 45 to 52,000 lbs. of silver. In 1758 and '89 there were found in the mines belonging to the family of Colonel Loaysa, situated here, two lumps of massive silver, one weighing 200 and the other 800 lbs. There are also found in the mountains of Pico, in the neighbourhood, mines of silver and copper, and the latter in abundance.

Among the inhabitants of the coast, there are a great number of free negroes and mulattoes who are educated, and possess independent fortunes. The mulattoes are particularly distinguished for

their vivacity and volubility. They are fond of learning, and boast of their noble blood and character. They have obtained from the king letters patent, conferring upon them the *dignity* and *title* of "Don," as they esteem it; and which, if omitted by any one in addressing them, he is immediately reminded of it by his Donship. They are excluded from the professions of law and the church; they therefore generally apply themselves to physic, which they practice with more quackery than skill. They are frequently to be met with in the interior cities of Peru, boasting of their dignity and their knowledge. They are cowards in war, and prefer talking to fighting; they cannot endure cold, nor the hardships of a campaign. In the rebellion of Tupac Amaru, two or three regiments of this caste, in crossing the cold mountains from Lima on their march to Cuzco, were attacked by indians early in the morning, and being benumbed by the cold, they were unable to use their muskets. They sent in a flag of truce to ask an armistice until the sun had risen, which was refused, and they were totally defeated.

LETTER VI.

I SHALL conclude my sketch of Upper Peru, by some additional remarks upon the mines, the climate, soil, productions, and commerce of that interesting country.

The mines of gold and silver, occurring within 15° and 23° south latitude, are situated at the following places:

GOLD WASHINGS.

Tipuani, Carabaya, Challana, Vilaque, and Chuquiaguillo.

GOLD MINES.

Yani, Ananea, Consata, Araca, Rinconada, Chiloco, Condo-Condo, Choque-camata, Pica, Cica-Cica, and Azangaro.

SILVER MINES.

Potosi, Lipez, Porco, Huantajaya, Aullagas, Caylloma, Charoma, Estarca, Lampa, Cerillos, Oruro, Popo, Chancani, Puno, Laycacota, Pica, Verenguela, Kinsachata, Huyana-Potosi, Chuquiaguillo, Carangas, and Pichegua.

There are mines of quicksilver at Pucarani and Guarina; and platina is found at Morocollo, in Low Peru.

The quantity of the precious metals extracted from these several mines, it is impossible accu-

rately to estimate: it has been stated at about \$ 14,000,000 annually. There are probably \$6,000,000 coined annually at Potosi and Lima, and which may be one third of the whole quantity of metal produced. M. Torres states, that the quantity of coin and bullion exported annually from Peru, amounts to \$ 8,240,000.

It may not be uninteresting here to bestow some remarks upon the influence of these metals upon national wealth and industry in Peru, and more especially, as some political writers of Europe maintain that the precious metals, far from being a useful production to South America, are the fruitful source of evils to that country; that its true interests would be to abandon its mines of gold and silver, and devote itself to agriculture and commerce; and that the working of mines of iron and copper, which they describe as things of *intrinsic value*, would be of greater utility. The celebrated Humboldt,—to whom the scientific world owe so many discoveries, and the South Americans, a rich tribute of gratitude for opening to the world the wonderful resources of their country,—has advanced these sentiments, and urged them upon the people of South America with no little zeal. I deem them, however they may be supported by weight of authority, to be clearly fallacious.

The precious metals, from remote antiquity to the present time, have been used by all civilized nations as the token or representative of wealth.

the measure of value, and the instrument as well as an article of exchange. And their value consists not in their being in themselves objects of consumption, or articles of absolute necessity to the existence of man, but because all nations have, by common consent, agreed to recognise them as the universal standard and measure of property or things of value. This convention of nations creates a demand for them, and *demand is undoubtedly the ultimate and only permanent regulator of the exchangeable value of all commodities.* Some political economists, like the learned Adam Smith, do indeed assert that, "*labour is alone the ultimate and real standard by which the value of all commodities can be estimated.*" Labour, no doubt, is one of the sources of value or wealth, but it ought not to be confounded with productions which are in themselves valuable. There is certainly too much *laborious trifling* in the world, to admit of the correctness of the proposition that 'labour is the only and ultimate standard of value.' But to prove this proposition to be false, we need only to refer to the celebrated writer last mentioned, where he says, "that the money price of labour is regulated by the demand for labour." So it seems that labour itself, which has just been called the *ultimate standard of value*, is still regulated, even in the opinion of Dr. Smith, by something else, which is *demand*. Labour is not, therefore, the last standard; but in order to arrive at that, we must proceed one step further, to wit, to demand. It is

demand then, after all, that regulates the value of things. According to the vulgar axiom,—and there is frequently much truth in the sayings of the vulgar, which are emphatically the concentrated wisdom of ages,—“ a thing is worth what it will fetch.” Again, Humboldt says, that “ true wealth consists in the abundance of objects of consumption—in that of *things*, and not in the *sign* by which they are represented.” This is another fallacy, which is also supported by the high authority of Adam Smith; indeed, it is no doubt taken from his book, for he says that “ real riches are in proportion to the quantity of *consumable goods* which any one may possess, or have money to purchase.” Why the wealth of this individual does not consist in his *money* as much as in the quantity of goods which his money will purchase, and why those goods must be *consumable*, or *objects of consumption*, I am at a loss to discover. According to my views of this subject, *wealth consists in abundance of exchangeable, or demandable commodities*. If this is true, and also that demand regulates value, it is clear that gold and silver are articles of real value and component parts of wealth. There are certainly no articles known in society or commerce that are in greater demand than the precious metals—that men will endure so many hardships, or brave so many dangers to obtain. The illustrious Locke, who thought upon this subject with the same correctness that he did upon every other of which he treated, “ considered gold and silver as

the most substantial part of the moveable *wealth* of nations."

There is also another palpable error in this proposition of Humboldt; he says that "gold and silver are only the *sign* by which things are represented." To measure value, is not the only office of the precious metals in effecting exchanges;—as a yard, for instance, is the measure of length. A given quantity of these metals is considered of equal value with the things exchanged; if I pay \$2 for a bushel of wheat, the seller esteems the cash at least of equal value to the wheat. The precious metals then, have an intrinsic value independent of the legal one which they possess as money.

If the precious metals are only *signs* of value, then are Bank notes, or *paper promises*, equally as good a circulating medium; a proposition, which I apprehend few politicians of the United States will seriously maintain at the present time, but which has been confidently asserted, and has no doubt aided in no small degree in introducing into this country the paper money system, which is now producing so many evils.

That a demand for the precious metals will always exist, there can be little doubt, from their *utility, beauty, and scarcity*, according to Dr. Smith, but more than all, from the circumstance that they have been adopted by all civilized nations as a circulating medium—as a thing to exchange for every thing else. As long as luxuries, conven-

iences, nay, even necessities, are in demand, so long will gold and silver, which alone can procure them all, be in demand also—unless, indeed, something else is substituted in their stead as money, a thing not likely to happen. Being the money of the world, the precious metals have become a real and substantial necessary of life to all classes of society: to the prince, to enable him to carry on the operations of his government; and to the private individual, to procure for him the necessities and comforts of life. If not the immediate objects of consumption, they are the necessary agents by which those objects are procured. In the actual state of civilized life, they are objects of the first utility and necessity, as much so as the fire which warms you, or dresses your food. Besides, the precious metals are not only the instrument of commerce, but the inciting cause, the animating reward of all the industry and labour in the world. Man will not labour for mere conveniences: it is the hope of obtaining something beyond this, of surplus wealth, that stimulates him to overcome the inertiae of his nature, and to submit to the irksomeness of painful toil. The savage, who knows not the use of gold and silver, who is unacquainted with either conveniences or luxuries, takes his scanty repast, just enough to satisfy the cravings of hunger, then wraps his blanket around him, and sleeps till hunger again returns to arouse and impel him to the chase: he is the rich man of the political economists: none have

the necessities of life in so great abundance as he. Dr. Smith says that "every man is rich according to the degree in which he can enjoy the necessities of life." Then are we all rich, for which of us does not enjoy the necessities of life? —and the rich are found in alms houses and hospitals as well as in splendid palaces.

The precious metals are not an artificial production like manufactures, which presuppose agriculture, but they are the natural productions of the soil of Peru and Mexico, which demand labour like any other production, like the wheat, tobacco, and cotton of the United States, with this only difference, that they do not require seed or cultivation like the latter, but grow spontaneously in the earth. The value arising from that true test, the demand of gold and silver, induces the working of the mines, but as they cannot be worked without the articles of living being supplied to the workmen, it follows that the working of mines encourages agriculture, and enriches the agriculturist, who sells his surplus produce to the rich miners who want it; and hence the fact, that in Peru, the greatest markets are those in the vicinity of the mines. The mines in some measure supply the want of commerce, to this country, which has always been prohibited by the government. We behold populous and wealthy cities rising up in the interior of the country, in inhospitable climates, and on a barren soil, in the vicinity of gold and silver mines.

What would have been the situation of Peru, no matter how fine the climate, or how productive the soil, if it had no mines, or they had never been worked !

It may happen that the precious metals may be sent into the world in great abundance, as was the case on the discovery of America, and the demand decreasing, they may decrease in value. If this should occur, it will operate in favour of the agriculturist of Peru, or of that country where the increase begins, as by obtaining more metal for his produce, he will be able to purchase greater quantities of conveniences and luxuries ; many things which before he could not obtain, will be within his reach, and the sphere of his comforts and enjoyments will be enlarged ; having more money, he will be able to command a greater amount of the labour, or of the products of the labour, of other nations. This is too obvious to require illustration ; and by increasing the quantity of the precious metals in Peru, the amount of its national wealth will be increased.

It is preposterous to pretend that it will be impolitic for Peru to work its mines, the rich products of which are as much its natural productions as Peruvian bark or Cochineal, and by which foreign commerce will be most powerfully attracted to its shores : and it is to an extended intercourse with foreign nations that this country must look for advancement in knowledge, industry, arts, and civil and religious liberty.

In Europe it may indeed be true that agriculture is the only fountain of its prosperity, because it furnishes the raw materials for manufactures which are the sources of its wealth; and I know not but the notions of political economy which I have been combatting may be applicable to that country, but the situation and interests of the new world are widely different. In South America, the mines are at present the only encouragement of agriculture and industry; in those parts which are the most distant from the mines, although the most fertile, the inhabitants are less wealthy; easily supplying themselves with the necessaries of life, here their industry ceases, and they are comparatively idle and indolent. But the people who dwell in the neighbourhood of the mines, become rich from selling the surplus produce of their soil, for the gold and silver of the miners, and they are enabled to enjoy, if not more of the mere necessities, certainly more of the comforts and luxuries of life. Thus it is that the prosperity of agriculture in Peru keeps pace with the progressive augmentation of surplus wealth, or of gold and silver. And here I cannot but remark the absurdity of the idea of Dr. Smith, that the "mines of a country have no connexion with its industry."

The miners in Peru and Mexico are the patrons and supporters of the luxurious arts, like the Princes of Europe. In the city of Mexico, which is full of wealthy miners, there are monuments of the arts, equal in magnificence to those of any city in the world; and if Peru does not exhibit

the same grandeur, it is because that country has been more oppressed and ill governed than Mexico; and it is a fact that its governors, from the period of the conquest to the present day, have been the most ignorant of any in Spanish America*.

Although the miners dwell in the most unfavourable climates, and on the most barren soil, still they rear habitations there, and build flourishing towns and populous cities; and even after the mines are exhausted and abandoned, the colony remains, the hardy inhabitant having become attached to the soil, no matter how rude it is, which gave him birth. After prosperity has departed, and subsistence itself become precarious, we find him clinging to the barren rock, and withering there, rather than be torn away. It is in vain to remind him how bleak the sky, how barren the soil, how tempestuous the climate—we find him rebuilding his weather-beaten cottage on the broken rock which the lightning had riven, or on the sand which the torrents had not entirely swept away, obstinately refusing to quit his native soil. In the neighbourhood of Potosi, Lipez, and Aullagas, we find a people dwelling on the verge of eternal snows, surrounded by the tenants of those inhospitable regions, the Vicunas and Guanacos, in small romantic cottages on the summits of the mountains; subsisting cheerfully on the milk of their goats and frozen potatoes, regardless of the

* Pizarro could neither read nor write, and his successors have been generally in the same predicament.

tempest howling without, and of their lofty and exposed position.

Who can doubt that the fine and fertile valleys of Peru, "where the flowers ever blossom, the beams ever shine," will be populated, whenever the government shall secure to the citizen his rights, and shall encourage the emigration of enterprising foreigners?

CLIMATE.

In the progress of the preceding letters, I have spoken of the climate of particular districts of Upper Peru; I will now endeavour to present a general view of the climate of the whole country.

From the pass of Volcan, in the south, which is near the tropic, to the Cordillera of Vilcanota in the north, situated at $14^{\circ} 30'$ south lat. the tract of country between the eastern and western Cordillera, is generally windy and cold, although some temperate and fruitful valleys intervene. This mountainous and rugged tract is called *La Sierra*; it is rich in metallic wealth, and in addition to the precious metals and quicksilver, there are mines of copper, tin, lead, and iron, in great abundance, and which are all worked except those of iron and quicksilver. The product of copper, tin, and lead, is abundant; these metals are used in the operations of mining, and the two former are exported in considerable quantities.

In this region there are frequent storms of rain and hail, and on the mountains, snow; thunderstorms are also frequent. The year is divided

into only two seasons, the wet and the dry; the former commencing in November and continuing to April, and the latter, or dry season, the remainder of the year; during this period there are no rains, and this is the winter of this climate, there being frequently frosts of considerable severity, and the ground being frozen so as to prevent cultivation. In the rainy months, potatoes, quinoa, oka, and other roots and grains, peculiar to the country, are cultivated, even on the table lands, and the declivities of the Cordilleras. The coldest weather which occurs in May and June, resembles the months of October and November in the northern states of North America; but fires are never lighted to warm apartments,—the same kind of dress is worn the year round, and cattle are never housed. The lofty regions are bare of trees; the table lands only exhibit a little stunted shrubbery, and a species of wiry grass, or rush, called *Heechoo*, which grows where nothing else will vegetate, and upon which the Vicunas and Guanacos feed. This rush is used by the Indians for roofing their cottages, and they make mats and ropes of the same substance. There is now a bridge over the river Desaguadero, on the main route from Lima to Buenos Ayres, the lengthwise, or string pieces of which consist of ropes of the size of cables made of this grass, resting upon the water, upon which canoes are placed crosswise, and over these are strewed great quantities of flags, collected from the shores of the river and the lake. This bridge is repaired every year; it is said to have

existed after the same fashion, from the times of the Incas.

In the valleys and ravines of this tract of country, the climate is temperate and the soil fertile; and, from their sheltered situation, vegetation is never interrupted by frost; they are profusely watered by the torrents which roll down the mountains, and are well adapted to the production of luxuriant crops.

On the eastern sides of the eastern Cordillera, the climate is uniformly warm; the seasons are divided in the same manner as in the former tract, the rainy season commencing in November and continuing to April. There are here no frost or snow, and all the varieties of the climate consist in the graduations of heat, and in humidity and dryness. It is this part of Peru which possesses the finest climate; the Province of Cochabamba is situated within this region, and here is Tipuani, celebrated for its gold, and for being seated at the head of the navigation of the Amazon.

On the west of the western Cordillera, or that of the coast, it never rains; the moisture of the earth is supplied from the torrents which descend from the mountains, and from the dews of Heaven. There is in this region some chilly weather; but the extremes of heat and cold are inconsiderable; there are here no thunder storms, but earthquakes are not unfrequent. There are some volcanic mountains in the range of the western Cordillera, but their fires seem to have expired; they have emitted no flames for many

years. At the base of a mountain near the valley of Locumba, there are hot springs, impregnated with sulphur. This region along the coast, possesses a mild and genial temperature ; its soil is suited to the cultivation of all the tropical fruits, and its valleys are celebrated for producing the finest grapes.

The healthfulness of the climate of Peru, is much and deservedly extolled ; in some of the ports of the Pacific coast, the fever and ague prevails, but acute diseases are almost entirely unknown. The Indians, who live a temperate life, attain very generally to an advanced age. Peru has been called the country of old men.

SOIL AND PRODUCTIONS.

I now proceed to speak more minutely of the mineral, vegetable, and animal, productions of this country.

Mineral Substances.

Alum, (three kinds,) epsom salts, glauber salts, nitre, or salt petre, soda, native verdigris, orpiment of Peru, salt, blue vitriol, vitriolated tartar, magnesia.

Native Alum. There are three kinds of native alum found in this country, and which are called *cachina blanca*, or *white cachina*, *milllo*, and *colquenillo*, or *yellow cachina*. Here nature offers this substance ready formed to your hands, and in the greatest purity : while in Europe it can only be obtained by tedious and expensive processes.

The *cachina blanca*, is found abundantly on the frontiers of La Paz, embedded in masses of slate or argillaceous schistos. The *milló* is found plentifully in the deep defiles on both sides of the Cordilleras. It appears upon the slate or schistos rocks in the dry season, in a state of efflorescence, forming a crust of pure alum, which nature has perfectly combined, and made ready for the use of the manufacturer in his most delicate operations. Although found amorphous, it may easily be crystallized by the most ordinary chemical processes.

The third species, *Colquenillo*, is found in great abundance, in beds on the borders of the Provinces of Porco and Chayanta, and combined with sulphate of copper. Its matrix is schistos; its colour as it appears in nature, is diversified with shades of white and yellow. This sort is particularly prized by manufacturers on account of its excess of sulphuric acid.

Green Vitriol. (Sulphate of iron). This substance is found in the greatest abundance, in the town of Tarapacha, in the Province of Carangas. It is found in its native state in the dry season.

Epsom Salts. (Sulphate of magnesia). These salts are found in great quantities in their native state in masses of slate, and sometimes united with *milló*, particularly on the eastern sides and summits of the Cordilleras, and in the ravines formed by the rivers Pilcomayo and Cachimayo.

Glauber Salts. (Sulphate of soda). This substance is found in the dry season along the road

from Cuzco to Potosi and Jujui. It is found in the shape of a crust, efflorescing from the earth, and a person may collect great quantities in a short time; an Indian will collect 150 lbs. in a day, with the copper vessel in which he keeps his *Chicha*.

Pure Nitre. The vast abundance in which this valuable substance is found in Peru is truly astonishing. It occurs in its native pure state; and is fit for commerce without the aid of any chemical process. It abounds on the tops and sides of the hills; and besides, there are many plants which yield it abundantly by lixiviation.

Native Soda. This salt is found in great plenty and purity throughout the whole country; in the plains bordering on the lake Titicaca, in Paria and Oruro, and in the valleys of Cochabamba. This is an important article of commerce; in Europe it is produced from the combustion of sea plants, but in Peru it is found in its native state.

Native Verdigris (Sub-acetate of Copper.) This mineral substance is found in the copper mines of Carangas, Lipez, Atacama, and other Provinces. The price here is from 2 to \$3 for 25 lbs; while the artificial verdigris sells for \$1 a pound.

Orpiment of Peru (a Sulphuret of Arsenic.) A species of yellow paint, much esteemed, consisting of arsenic combined with sulphur; it is found in the different mines of the Cordillera of the coast, and in the Province of Carangas. This is an im-

portant article in dyeing, and from it the arsenic of commerce may be easily obtained.

Common Salt. This country contains immense deposits of this salt. The ravines in the dry season exhibit immense quantities of it crystallized in a high state of purity; and it is also found in large veins in the rocks, and of the same excellent quality. There are inexhaustible mines of it in the settlement of Yocalla, near Potosi, from which the miners of that place are supplied; and also in the Province of Yamparaes and other places.

All the foregoing substances are produced ready formed to your hand, without the aid of art; indeed Peru, from its position under a tropical sun, its long rains and continued droughts, seems a vast laboratory, where that great chemist, nature, carries on her operations on the grandest scale, and leaves little for man to do.

Blue Vitriol (Sulphate of Copper.) This substance is found in its native state, but in very small quantities; but by combining sulphur and copper, which are abundant all over Peru, it may easily be produced.

Vitriolated Tartar (Sulphate of Potash.) This substance may be obtained by a very coarse chemical process in this country.

Magnesia.—Is easily obtained by decomposing Epsom salts, which yield about 40 per cent. of white magnesia.

Vegetable Substances.

I. MEDICINAL. Gum Arabic, camphor, hamahama, tanitani, arnica of the Andes, guachanca, quinquina, jalap, rhubarb, sarsaparilla; gums copal, storax, tragacanth, myrrh, guaicum and benzoin, frankincense, balsams of copaiva, Peru, and tolu, gentian, aloës, cullen, (proralen glandulosa,) calaguala, (prolipodium canceolatum) chanchalagua, (a species of gentian,) vira-vira (graphalum vira-vira,) chamico, azarguero, ipecachuana, cinnamon, and a variety of bitumens and resins.

Gum Arabic. This substance is produced from the most common trees of the country, but nobody takes the trouble to collect it. The trees which yield it are of the same species with those from which it is obtained in Egypt and Arabia.

Camphor. I know not that the real *laurus camphora* grows in the forests of Peru, but there are many trees of this country which are impregnated with this substance, and from which it may be abundantly obtained by sublimation. These trees occur in the ravines of the eastern Cordillera; and at Arque in Cochabamba the odour of camphor may be perceived at a great distance.

Hamahama. A species of *valerian*, which is found abundantly in the Cordilleras; there is also another species, *valeriana catacata*, which is found on the summits of those mountains.

Quinquina, (Cinchona, Peruvian bark.) There are several kinds of this bark produced in Peru,

but the principal are the pale, the yellow, and the red. This important article in the *Materia Medica*, is found only in Peru. The trees from which it is taken, are found in the eastern borders of La Paz, and in all the Provinces of the eastern Cordillera; they are slender and straight, rarely exceeding ten feet in height, and are about the size of a man's leg. They never occur in clusters, but are thinly scattered throughout the forests; they are cut down by the Indians, and the bark is peeled off. The bark is collected principally by the Indians.

Cinnamon. This valuable substance is abundant in the regions east of the Cordilleras, in the neighbourhood of Tipuani, on the borders of the sources of the Amazon, and in the Provinces of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Moxos, and Chiquitos. In its uncultivated state, the only way in which it occurs here, it is equal to the oriental cinnamon, except that it may be somewhat thicker. It is not made an article of commerce in Peru.

II. **ECONOMICAL.** Tar, yellow wood of Santa Cruz, churisiqui, molle and tola, chapi, rocou, or Brazil wood, airampo, indigo, cocoa, coca, tobacco, coffee, cotton, potatoe, banana, oka, quinoa, agi, agave, vainilla, alspice, wax, chonta, mahogany, lucma, ginger, olives, grapes, palms, tamarinds.

Many of these substances are dye stuffs, such as the *yellow wood of Santa Cruz*, *chapi*, and *airampo*, the former for dyeing yellow, and the two latter, red.

Lucma and *chonta* are fine woods used in cabinet work. The *lucma* yields a delicious fruit, and the

chonta is equal in colour, in fineness of texture, and solidity, to ebony. It is impossible for me to enumerate the many fine woods which abound in the extensive forests of this country, for they have never been explored by civilized man. The lower declivities of the Cordilleras are heavily timbered, but it is in the forests extending from Cochabamba and Tipuani, east and north, that the trees of the largest size are found, and some of which, I should imagine, are well adapted to ship-building. The pine and cedar are common trees of the country. Odoriferous and flowering shrubs are abundant. These forests are a mine of botanical riches, but such is the non-chalance of the Spaniards, that they have never been explored, except by the Indians, in pursuit of *coca*, or game.

Airampo.—Is a species of the *cactus* upon which the cochineal feeds. It is a prickly shrub producing red berries.

Indigo. This valuable substance is found in great abundance in La Paz, in Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra, but it has never been cultivated.

Cocoa. This is found in Moxos, in Apolobamba, at the foot of the last chain of mountains in descending the eastern Cordillera.

Coca. This substance is the tobacco of the Indians, and resembles the *betel* of the East; its botanical name is *erythroxylum Peruvianum*.

Tobacco. Is cultivated in several parts of the country, but under royal authority. Its general cultivation was interdicted by the Spanish laws.

Cotton. The Provinces on the east of the eastern Cordillera, are the most favourable countries in the world for the production of this valuable substance; particularly Cochabamba, in the valleys extending from Arque to Valle Grande.

Potatoe (*papa* in the *Quechua* language, and *choke* in the *Aymara*.) This important vegetable is a native of America, and is believed to be an indigenous production of Peru. There are produced in this country several kinds of potatoe; one a long kind, of which *chunu* is made. This substance is made by first freezing the potatoes, then pounding them, and drying them in the sun. It is esteemed a delicate food, and can be preserved many years. There is another potatoe which is yellow, like the yolk of an egg, and of fine flavour. There is another kind, which is of a pink colour, and is also excellent food.

Banana. To this fruit some politicians have attributed the indolence of the Spanish colonists, and have even suggested that its cultivation ought to be prohibited. It is easily cultivated; its yield, on a given quantity of ground, is estimated to be to that of potatoes as 44 to 1; and besides it is extremely nutritious. It is cultivated in the eastern Cordillera.

Oka (*oxalis tuberosa*.) A sweet root, growing in the cold and barren soils, and an important article of human food in Peru.

Quinoa (*Peruvian rice*.) An important grain as an article of food, and of it and indian corn is made *chicha*, the beer of the Indians.

Agi (*Guinea pepper*.) Called by the Indians *oochoo*, and by botanists *capsicum baccatum*; its pods are one quarter of a yard in length; it is produced abundantly on the coast.

Agave. This substance, so valuable in Mexico, is not at all cultivated in Peru. In Mexico, a fermented and much esteemed liquor resembling cider, is made of its juice. Its cultivation is very profitable. It is found in the cold and lofty regions of the Cordilleras.

Animal Substances.

Sal ammoniac, wool, cochineal, furs, plumage.

Sal ammoniac. This substance is ranked among animal substances on account of its being most commonly procured from animal matter. The Indians dwelling on the summits of the Andes, admit their domestic animals, the Llama and Alpacha, into their cabins, where they are fed and housed; and from the scarcity of fuel in those sterile regions, they burn the excrement of these animals. From the ashes of this substance thousands of quintals of sal ammoniac may easily be made, as these animals feed upon a grass strongly impregnated with salt, and which also constitutes a part of the fuel of the Indians.

Wool. Sheep are dispersed in great numbers all over the Cordilleras; and they contribute by their fleeces, milk, and flesh, to the comforts of the Indians who inhabit those inhospitable regions.

There are four distinct species of sheep peculiar

to this country; the *Llama*, the *Alpacha*, or *Paco*, the *Guanaco*, and the *Vicuna*. Buffon has inaccurately described the Guanaco as being the wild Llama, and the Vicuna as the wild Alpacha; he is equally incorrect when he says that the Alpacha is a beast of burden of the Indians. I was born in the country of the Alpacha, and know the contrary to be the fact; the Alpacha is a slender and feeble animal.

The Llama and Alpacha are domestic animals. The Llama is about the size of a stag; of different colours, white, brown, and black. This animal is sometimes called the *American Camel*, but the points of resemblance are not very numerous or striking. The Llama chews the cud like the common sheep; its flesh is excellent food: I have often tasted it, and esteem it equal to mutton. Its wool is long and coarse, and of that of the wild Llama the Indians make their clothing. It is the common beast of burden of the Indians; its usual load is five arobas, (125 lbs.); it is slow motioned, having a lofty and majestic gait, accompanied with a droning noise as it marches along, and carrying its head high in the air: in temper, it is mild, docile, and would no doubt be patient under injuries, if they were ever inflicted; but the Indians never treat this noble animal with cruelty. It was the beast of burden of the Peruvians, in the times of the Incas.

Alpacha. This animal is smaller than the Llama. Its colour is white, black, and sometimes spotted.

Its flesh, I believe is never eaten ; its wool is very fine and valuable.

Guanaco. This animal is still smaller than the Alpacha ; its colour is usually a pale red, resembling a rose dried in the sun ; its belly and legs are white ; its wool is fine and valuable. This animal is wild ; I never saw one domesticated ; it frequents the most rude and inaccessible parts of the Cordilleras, and is extremely fleet of foot.

The *Vicuna* is of the same size as the Guanaco ; it is somewhat taller than the common English sheep, but with a smaller body. Its colour is ordinarily brown, with white belly and legs. This animal is more vigorous in the elevated regions of the Cordilleras than in low and temperate situations ; and the difference in the wool in the two situations is very perceptible : that in the higher parts being much the finest.

The Vicunas inhabit the rudest and wildest parts of the Cordilleras, where the severity of the climate and the continual snows drive off every other animal, except the Guanaco. They are found in abundance throughout the whole range of the Cordilleras, from the borders of Chili far to the north. In passing along the eastern Cordillera, in the neighbourhood of Choque-Camata, in Cochabamba, and towards the borders of Chili, you frequently see droves of many hundreds of these animals like flocks of sheep. They are extremely fleet-footed and are caught with difficulty in the chase, but their wonderful timidity

furnishes an easy mode of taking them. The Indian hunters, by a mode with which they are acquainted, collect them together in a place surrounded with pickets fixed in the ground, upon the tops of which bits of cloth are fastened, which being shaken by the wind, so terrify the timid Vicunas that they make no effort to escape, and are easily caught. They are never sheared, and every fleece costs the life of one of these valuable animals. They are sometimes hunted with dogs and guns like deer. They are easily domesticated, and become as tame and as familiar with man as a dog. They are frequently to be found in the Indian cabin, and sometimes in the houses of the rich in the interior cities.

The wool of the Alpacha is of an excellent quality, but that of the Vicuna is perhaps the finest in the world. It is thick and bushy, extremely fine, soft and silky to the touch; and possesses an extraordinary gloss and lustre; it is more like silk than ordinary wool, and it does not lose its glossiness by being dyed. In this animal is found the *bezoar stone*, which is considered equal to the oriental.

Cochineal, (called *Maekno* by the Indians.) This insect, which occurs in its native state in abundance in Peru, is not cultivated there, but its importance, if it were cultivated, may be estimated from the fact that its annual exportation from Mexico, in years of peace, amounts to nearly two and a half millions of dollars. Its price at Vera

Cruz is about \$3 a pound; in New-York, at the present time, it is from 6 to \$8.

This valuable product is suffered to grow, and to perish, without exciting the attention of the incurious Spaniard.

Fur. The fur of the *Chinchilla* is not inferior to that of the martin. It is already exported to Europe in considerable quantities. The *Chinchilla* is a little animal, about the size of a cat; it is found in Lipez, and generally on the Cordilleras; its flesh is often eaten, and esteemed a delicacy.

The *furs* also of the *Zorillo*, and the *Bullin*, an amphibious animal, are very valuable. The skins of the *American Tiger* are collected in considerable quantities by the Indians.

Plumage. Ostrich feathers are collected by the Indians. The ostrich is found on the bleak and barren regions of the Cordilleras in considerable abundance.

But the most remarkable bird of South America is the *Condor*, which is between three and four feet in height, and whose wings are at least fourteen feet from end to end. These mammoth birds are domesticated; their colour is a dark brown, with a white collar around their necks. At the bull feasts they are often turned into the arena to fight with the bulls; they are of remarkable strength, and will run and fly with amazing swiftness.

There are between 40 and 50 species of parrots in this country, some of which are very large and beautiful.

In the preceding remarks upon the productions of Upper Peru, it has not been my object to write the natural history of that country, but to notice such of its products as may hereafter become important articles of foreign commerce. I will now point out others, which more particularly concern the domestic economy of the country.

Wheat. This valuable grain is produced in great abundance in Cochabamba, in the Province of Larecaja in La Paz, and in the Intendencies of Arequipa and Cuzco. At Cuzco it is so abundant that the price of 8 loaves of bread weighing 18 oz. each, and of the first quality, is sixpence; and that of the second quality is a halfpenny a loaf, of the same weight.

The Intendency of Cuzco is extremely fertile, and furnishes the cold districts of Peru with great quantities of wheat and maize. Judge Bland, late United States' commissioner to South America, in his excellent report on Chili, has certainly been misinformed when he says, "none of the tropical regions of America, either on the Atlantic or Pacific ocean, produce wheat, or indeed any bread stuff, in sufficient abundance for the inhabitants"—and again, "from Acapulco to Cobija, (the country) is entirely dependant upon Chili for bread." The present high price of wheat at Lima (\$25 a bushel,) and along the Pacific coast, is owing to several accidental causes:—to the revolution, which has so busily engaged the Cochabambians and the people of Cuzco that they have had no leisure to attend to the cultivation of their fields;

—and to the great expense of transportation, in consequence of the scarcity of mules. The supply of these animals, from Tucuman, has been entirely suspended during the present war. I am confident that Cuzco and Cochabamba can alone supply all Peru with wheat.

The mean produce of wheat in Peru, compared to that of other countries, is truly astonishing. It is computed by Humboldt that the produce of wheat in the plains of Caxamarca in Low Peru, is from 18 to 20 for 1, while that of France is from 5 to 6 for 1, and that of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana, is 4 for 1. From these data, we may estimate the average produce of wheat in Caxamarca, to be from 60 to 70 bushels an acre.

Maize (Indian corn.) A native production of America, like the potatoe. It is produced in amazing abundance in Cuzco, and yields from 1 to 200 fold. Several varieties are cultivated, one whose kernel is an inch long. The stalks usually attain the height of from 8 to 10 feet, and they contain almost as much sugar as the sugar-cane; a syrup, resembling molasses, is frequently extracted from them.

Rice.—Is produced in considerable abundance in the eastern Provinces.

Sugar. The sugar cane is cultivated in Cuzco, Arequipa, Larecaja, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra. The sugar of Cuzco is esteemed the best, although the climate of Arequipa, on account of the absence of rain, seems most favourable to its successful culture.

Horned cattle—Are scarce and dear in Peru, compared to Tucuman and some other provinces of Rio de la Plata, and are of small size. The farmers use oxen altogether in cultivating their fields. In the warm and temperate regions, cows supply the inhabitants with milk, while in the cold, sheep's milk is wholly used, and of which butter and cheese are made. I have already borne testimony to the excellence of the cheese of Paria, which is made of the milk of sheep. These animals (common sheep) are in great numbers in this country; the fields are almost covered with them. Their wool is an important article of internal commerce.

Fruit. It is unnecessary, and indeed, it would be impossible for me to enumerate all the varieties of fruits to be found in this country; they are produced, both native and exotic, in the greatest profusion and perfection. The gardens of the convents in Cuzco can only be compared to the fairy scenes of Eastern romance, or the visions of poetic fancy. Among the exotics we may reckon almost all the fruits of Europe; of grapes they had a great variety of their own, or which were introduced by the Spaniards after the conquest; and in addition to these, M. Bonpland, the celebrated companion of Humboldt, brought to Buenos Ayres a few years since, thirteen varieties of grapes from the vineyards of France, together with some fruit trees and valuable plants, many of which have, no doubt, already found their way to the gardens of

Cuzco and Cochabamba. Of *olives*, great quantities are cultivated in Arequipa; they are of unusual size, and the oil which is made from them is excellent, and very cheap throughout all Peru.

COMMERCE.

The commerce of Peru has heretofore been wholly confined to Spain. The Spanish merchant introduced his goods through two channels, Lima and Buenos Ayres, which were called *puertos mayores* in contradistinction to the *puertos menores*, such as Arica, Ilo, &c. which could not trade directly with the mother country. The Philippine Islands also carried on a trade with Lima, and had a factory, or mercantile company there, called *Gremios*, with branches in the interior towns. The commodities of the East introduced in this way into Peru, have been estimated to amount annually to \$ 270,230, which were exchanged for gold and silver to the amount of \$ 2,780,000. The European goods imported, are exchanged for gold and silver, and besides, for copper, Peruvian bark, Alpacha and Vicuna wool, chinchilla skins, and some other trifling articles.

The consumers of foreign commodities in Peru, have been only Spaniards and Creoles, including a few mestizos and mulattos, which altogether may be one fourth of the whole population. The cholos, negroes, and indians, almost entirely use articles of domestic manufacture. In the intendency of Cuzco, there are large manufactories of baize,

the fulling and dressing of cloths being prohibited by the King. Notwithstanding which prohibition, during the late continental war in Europe, fine woollen fabricks were made at these manufactories. Blankets of a fine quality are manufactured, and in the intendency of Puno, indian cloths and carpets are made, which supply the coast. The wool for these manufactories, is supplied from that region of country called *La Sierra*, situated between the Cordilleras. The principal cotton manufactories are in Cochabamba and some parts of La Paz.

The interior commerce between Upper and Low Peru, has been calculated at \$ 6,693,513, annually. The amount of foreign goods introduced through Buenos Ayres into Peru is estimated, by the Secretary Moreno, to have been, before the revolution, \$ 18,000,000, annually; and the amount introduced into all America, according to M. Torres, is \$ 100,000,000. But the foreign commerce heretofore carried on with South America, affords no certain data from which we may calculate what will be the future commerce of that country. The merchants of Cadiz, who monopolized the colonial trade of Spain, did not proceed upon any regular commercial system, except that of buying cheap of the colonies, and selling dear to them, and they were only the agents of foreign merchants; the same routine was followed year after year for nearly three centuries; no new branches of trade were opened, but an universal languor

pervaded all their operations. Besides, the colonies were subjected to the united influence of the worst of governments, and of a religion which has been a blast upon every country where it has predominated. Until within a few years, the colonies were not permitted to trade with each other; they were placed in the position of belligerents, and their ports in that of besieged or blockaded towns; and even the mother country herself could not carry on a free trade with them. At first, Seville monopolized the whole commerce of South America, and it was afterwards slowly and gradually extended to Cadiz and the other ports, but it was for ever subjected to odious restrictions. To enforce them, the penal code of Spain was exhausted; and to the pains of death and confiscation of property, were added the fearful anathemas of the Church. It was not until the year 1778, in the administration of Galvez, that the free commerce of South America was granted to the merchants of Spain, but its manufactures were still shackled by the laws*.

From the few lights which are shed upon the commerce of Peru, it is impossible to judge of the present extent of the market, the quantity of goods demanded, or the number of consumers. A feeble

* In a royal order of the 6th December, 1784, after a recital that the wool of the Vicuna had been used in the manufacture of hats at Lima, which was contrary to law, and to the great prejudice of the manufactures of the mother country, it was ordered that all the Vicuna wool should be bought up on account of government, and sent to Spain. This order is referred to by Dean Funes in his History of Buenos Ayres, to show that Humboldt is mistaken in the assertion that the king of Spain never issued any order to prohibit or discourage manufactures in the colonies.

light is indeed derived from the example of Buenos Ayres, and the wealth and population of Peru. The country of Low Peru, which extends from Tumbez, in lat. $3^{\circ} 30'$ S. to the Cordillera of Vilcanota, in lat. $14^{\circ} 30'$ S. embraces a large extent of territory, including eight intendencies, eight populous cities, and 1460 small towns or villages. The capital, Lima, contained, according to an accurate census taken in 1798, 52,627 inhabitants, without including tributary indians, or the neighbouring villages*. The city of Cuzco, the ancient metropolis of the Incas, situated in the interior, is nearly equal to Lima in population, and but little inferior to it in wealth. The whole population of Peru has been variously estimated at from 1,700,000 to 3,000,000. The inhabitants along the coast consist chiefly of whites and mulattoes, who generally speak the Spanish language, and are possessed of property, while those of *La Sierra* are mostly tributary indians. Wealth is here more equally divided than in Mexico; the mines are richer, and are at present, I imagine, better worked. Steam engines have been recently introduced at Lima, and chymistry and mineralogy are beginning to be well understood. When this country shall have gained its freedom, the indians, mestizos, and cholos, who altogether are very numerous, will be

* In the year 1682, when the Duke de la Palata, the Viceroy, made his entry into Lima, three whole streets were paved with ingots of solid silver, each weighing 200 marks, and being from 12 to 15 inches in length; the whole being estimated at 54,000,000 dollars. In 1700, there were 400 carriages in this city.

added to the consumers of foreign commodities, and will of course greatly increase the demand.

Although I have not been able to ascertain the precise amount of foreign goods imported into Buenos Ayres since the revolution, yet I am confident it has been very great; and the beneficial influence of commerce upon civilization and industry, has been amply demonstrated in its happy effects upon the people of Buenos Ayres and the interior provinces. Anterior to the ordinance of the King opening the ports of the La Plata, the interior provinces were in extreme want; wheat perished in the fields; the flesh of bullocks was left to putrify on the earth, or to be devoured by wild dogs and vultures; the people, wrapped in their *ponchos*, with their butcher-knives and catch-ropes, the only implements of their industry, presented the most miserable picture of wretchedness and sloth; abounding in commodities of the first necessity to the subsistence of man, having a plentiful surplus, sufficient to have purchased for them every convenience and luxury of life, yet being far distant from a place of demand, and their ports shut up, those otherwise valuable articles were of no use to them, and perished on their hands. But when the revolution broke out, the English, with their characteristic enterprise, poured their goods into Buenos Ayres, and they were sold at low prices, and were thus thrown within the reach of all classes; the farmers of the interior exchanged their hides, beef and wheat, which they did not want, for the conveniences and luxuries of Europe; they procured commodities which before

they had never imagined; and along with their merchandise, the English introduced their customs, their improvements in the arts, and in the comforts of life.

From the re-conquest of Chili, in October 1817, to July 1818, there arrived in the ports of that country, twenty-four American vessels, whose cargoes were estimated at \$1,387,000; twenty English vessels, whose cargoes amounted to \$1,835,000; two Russian, one Swedish, and one French; the whole, according to the Report of Judge Bland, amounting to \$4,000,000. In this short period, a greater number of foreign vessels arrived in Chili, than in fifty years before; and the people of this country, like their brethren of Buenos Ayres, must have experienced many important benefits from this foreign commerce.

The preceding facts lead to several important and interesting considerations.

1st. The countries of Upper and Lower Peru, alike in population, habits, interests, and productions, and bordering upon each other, will hereafter probably carry on their foreign commerce, either by Cape Horn, or the isthmus of Darien. On their long and safe coast, foreign ships will find commodious harbours, where the merchants of every clime can carry their merchandise, and exchange it for those valuable productions which I have noticed in the preceding letters. But there are other channels of commercial communication which may be opened with this country, which, in the language of Humboldt, is destined to change the commercial face of nations. I have already

spoken of the navigation of the Amazon. This magnificent river rises in Peru, and after running a northwardly and eastwardly direction a distance of between three and four thousand miles, empties into the Atlantic ocean, just below the West Indies. The whole of this distance, from the foot of the Andes to the ocean, this river is navigable, and the navigation may be performed in thirty days; and, although its current in the rainy season may prevent the easy ascent of vessels, it will afford, like the Mississippi, a noble channel for steam-boat navigation.

And here I cannot pass over the splendid and much talked of project, of cutting a canal across the isthmus of Darien, to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The continent, at the narrowest point, the isthmus of Tehuantepec, is forty-five leagues wide. There are here two rivers, the Rio Huasacualco and the Chimalapa, the former emptying into the gulf of Mexico, and the latter into the Pacific ocean. Humboldt states that the Rio Huasacualco forms in reality, a commercial communication between the two oceans; and that, during the late war with the English, the indigo of Gautimala came by the way of this isthmus to Vera Cruz, and thence to Europe.

The Lake Nicaragua has been considered as affording the most convenient point of canal communication. This river communicates on the east, by the river San Juan, with the sea of Antilles. Here a canal would be cut across the isthmus which separates the Lake Nicaragua from the gulf

of Papagayo, on the Pacific coast. It is asserted by Humboldt, that the ground here appears very little elevated; and Dampier says expressly that it is a little hilly, but generally low and level.

There is another point where a water communication might be effected, by means of the river Chagre, which empties into the sea of Antilles. This river is navigable to Cruces, where it is one hundred and thirty feet in width, and it may be ascended, in four or five days, to this place, from whence to Panama it is only five small leagues, according to Humboldt. Between these two points the Cordillera stretches north; from the summit of which, it is said that both oceans can be seen at the same time. Upon an assertion of Wafer, that the hills, forming the central chain of this cordillera, are separated from one another by valleys, which allow free course for the passage of rivers, Humboldt remarks, that if this is true, we might believe in the possibility of a canal from Cruces to Panama, of which the navigation would only be interrupted by a few locks.

It is astonishing, that, although the project of a canal across the isthmus of Darien has occupied every mind for more than three centuries, no survey of the ground has ever been made; the practicability of such a canal, however, can no more be doubted, than the immeasurable mass of benefits which would result from it to the commercial world. I do not hesitate to say, that a communication of navigable waters across that narrow isthmus which connects the two Americas, would pro-

duce as momentous changes upon the commerce and the wealth of the world, as the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope. Like that, it would change the course of navigation to the East, and Peru and Mexico would be intervening points in that new route, with the enterprise and industry of Europe and the United States on the one hand, and the rich products of Asia on the other, and eager to exchange their gold and silver for the manufactured goods of the former, and the silks and spices of the latter. Next to Peru and Mexico, the United States are more interested in this splendid project than any other nation, on account of their proximity to South America, their commerce with the East Indies, the precious metals of Peru and Mexico, the furs of Nootka Sound, and their establishment at Columbia river, on the Pacific ocean.

2d. At least five millions of new consumers of foreign goods will be created at once, whenever the colonial system shall be destroyed. And whether the much abused people of this country shall become warriors or agriculturists: whether there shall arise a Cæsar, or a Washington, to foster their infant liberties, or bury them in the dust; or some descendant of the Incas, inspired with the genius of Manco Capac, shall arise to break their iron yoke, and to collect together, in their ancient metropolis, the wandering and wretched remnant of the children of the Sun; whatever may be the future fortunes of the Peruvians, it is certain that the empire of commerce will be extended, and the en-

terprise and industry of the whole world attracted to their shores. And those Peruvian warriors, who are now fighting the battles of their country on the plains of Rio de la Plata, in Chili, and on the ocean, and mingling with those who are in close communication with enlightened Europeans, will return, like the soldiers of the Cross, to their native country, laden with the spoil, if not of conquest, of civilization and arts.

Upper and Low Peru will, in all probability, return to their primitive political situation, and be united under the same government; and prompted by that spirit of rivalry, which is inherent in nations, as well as in individuals, and by the most obvious dictates of policy, they will eagerly throw open their numerous ports to foreign commerce, in order to keep pace with the rapid advance of their sister states, Buenos Ayres and Chili, in national prosperity; and with their precious metals, they will purchase, directly of foreign merchants, every thing they want, without waiting for a yard of cloth to reach them by travelling hundreds of miles across the Pampas of Buenos Ayres. And their harbours being more commodious than those of Chili, and their climate finer, greater attractions will be presented to foreign merchants, to invite them to their ports.

The prospect which is opening to the commercial enterprise of the United States, is of the most interesting character. From the proximity of the United States to Peru, they will be able to carry

on their trade with that country with far greater facilities than any of the nations of Europe. They will be able to procure from Peru all the specie which they may want, either to supply the place of Bank paper, as a circulating medium, or to sustain its shattered credit; and to carry on, upon a more profitable and extended scale, their commerce with the East. It may surprise those who are unacquainted with the extent of that commerce, to learn, that at least three millions of dollars are annually shipped to China, for the single article of tea; and that, from July 1817, to April 1818, five millions, seven hundred thousand Spanish dollars arrived in the port of Canton, in American vessels.

The precious metals can be obtained in Peru, for several commodities, which I am informed, can be exported cheaper from the United States than from any other nation: such as coarse cottons, ships, leather, furniture, hats, castings, nails, carriages, and some other articles. Peru is not now, and will not soon become, a manufacturing country; its population is too thin, and it has other more abundant sources of wealth. The trade to be carried on with that country, therefore, will be principally in manufactured goods, which command high prices.* If the United States shall participate in this trade, their manufactures will thereby be encouraged;—an object, no doubt, of great impor-

* The price of iron in times of peace, has been eighty and ninety dollars for 100 lbs. and that of steel, one hundred and thirty-five dollars for 100 lbs.; common writing paper, twelve dollars a ream; broad cloths from fifteen to twenty dollars a yard; velvet from six to eight; bayetas, a fine stuff like flannel, from two dollars and fifty cents to five dollars a yard; boots twenty-five dollars a pair; levantine silks five and six dollars a yard.

tance to their prosperity, and which some of their best citizens have much at heart. And if manufactures are ever extensively and prosperously established in the United States, it will be owing to foreign, not domestic demand for manufactured goods; without such demand, they will never flourish, no matter how powerful the patronage, how lavish the bounties, or how heavy the impositions upon foreign goods. But aside from considerations of mercantile gain, or the encouragement of manufactures, the people of the United States have a powerful interest in establishing a close connexion with their sister Republics in the south; the welfare of both parties calls loudly for such an alliance: and more especially since the crowned heads of Europe have made common cause for the stability of their thrones, and have formed their memorable *league of legitimacy*. It is here in the two Americas that the people, strong in their principles, and rich in resources, and displaying humanity and justice, constancy and courage, should erect a formidable barrier against the encroachments of European tyranny; it is here, that the proud waves of despotism should be stayed; and here, should be buried for ever in the grave of oblivion, that calamitous maxim which has been canonized for ages in Europe, that *Kings rule by the Grace of God*.

But in America, there has been erected a monarchy whose sovereign, too powerless to remain in Europe, was forced to flee across the Atlantic, and to seek for safety, and for refuge in his remote

colonies ; and no sooner did he set foot upon the shores of America, than, fired with that insatiate lust of conquest, which has drenched Europe with blood, and hung the world in mourning, he directed his arms against an infant people, still struggling in the iron grasp of their oppressors, in order to fasten upon them the chains from which he had just escaped. This delirium of domination, which has directed all the steps of King John of the Brazils, has led him to desolate the fairest portion of the globe ; but he has been taught, amid the thunder of cannon, and the groans of the dying, that the time has gone by, when men, who are resolved to be free, can be subdued, or monarchs can rule by the sword ; and those naked and ignorant men, who have been opposed on the plains of Monte Video, to soldiers inured to war, in contending against the armies of Napoleon ; have shown to the world, that they prefer the horrors of war to the calm of despotism, and death to slavery.

The names of the gallant chiefs, who have so heroically conducted to the camp of glory, an undisciplined and inexperienced multitude, to resist the encroachments of foreign tyrants, will be transmitted with honour to posterity ; and the history of the revolution, when it unfolds its black pages, inscribed with the names of the European tyrants, who have traversed the ocean, to deluge with the blood of her sons, the innocent soil of America, will at the same time exhibit in its most brilliant and splendid pages, the names of General Rivero,

and Don Jose Artigas,—that extraordinary man, whom nature has so prodigally gifted with genius, and who has so gloriously sustained himself and his country, amid the convulsions of intestine war, and the conflicting passions of the human heart; who has been the stable rock of the ocean, against which the billows of the ambition of the Brazilian cabinet have beat in vain, and whose important services for his country must command the gratitude of his compatriots, and the admiration of the world. The fame of the Orientals and their gallant Chiefs will be eternal, like the flow of their noble river, and fresh as the verdure of its shores.

NOTES.

NOTE 1. PAGE 13.

ANTEQUERA.

THE history of Antequera, contained in the writings of Charlevoix, has been implicitly followed by Wilcoke in his "History of Buenos Ayres." This work is principally a compilation from Ulloa, the "Viagero Universal," the "Dictionario Geografico" of Alcedo, and from Helms ; it contains many valuable facts intermingled with numerous errors. My information in relation to Antequera, has been derived from documents in the possession of *Calvo y Antequera*, and *Pereyra Castro*, two canons of Cuzco, relatives of Antequera, whose offices were conferred upon them by the King of Spain, in consequence, as it is stated in their Patents, of the injuries sustained by the family of Antequera, in his punishment, and the seizure and confiscation of his estates.

The trial of Antequera first commenced at Madrid, and was afterwards transferred to Lima ; it lasted several years, and enormous sums of money were expended in its prosecution. A copy of the proceedings of this trial is preserved at Cuzco, by *Garcia*, an officer in the Cathedral there, and also *Castro*, a literary man of that country, in his "Memoirs," has preserved a history of these transactions.

It is not at all surprising to those who are acquainted with the policy of the Spanish Government, that so little of this revolution is known to the world, as it was even prohibited by law to speak upon the subject. "Que no se hable mas de esto," was the imperative mandate of the King, and wo be to him who dared to infringe it.

NOTE 2. PAGE 17.

THE JESUITS.

The following curious notice of the Jesuits of Paraguay in the year 1700, is extracted from "Frezier's Voyage to the South Sea."

"Every parish is obliged to maintain a number of disciplined troops, by regiments of horse and foot, in proportion to its strength. Each regiment consists of six companies of fifty men each, a colonel, six captains, six lieutenants, and a general officer, who exercises them every Sunday after vespers. The officers, who are brought up from father to son, are very expert in disciplining them. It is upon no other occasion that the parishes have a communication, but only to form an army, which the senior general officer commands, under the direction of a Jesuit who is *Generalissimo*. The arms of these indians are fuzees, swords, bayonets, and slings, with which they throw stones of five pounds weight, and they are very dexterous at that weapon. The Missions together can assemble 60,000 men in eight days time. The indians have nothing of their own; the Jesuits have all, and those poor people who have a right to be free, having voluntarily subjected themselves, are treated like slaves. And in short 300,000 families and more, work for forty Jesuits, and own and obey none but them. One circumstance which makes good this assertion, is that when the Governor of Buenos Ayres received orders to lay siege to St. Gabriel, in which a detachment of 4,000 Indian horse assisted, with a Jesuit at their head, the Governor commanded their Colonel to make an attack at four o'clock in the morning, but the indians refused to obey because they had not the Jesuit's order, who being sent for, arrived, under whom they ranged themselves and executed the order from his mouth."

Since the expulsion of the Jesuits from this country in 1773, the Indians of the missions have gradually relapsed into their original barbarism; a pretty convincing proof that the Jesuits did not proceed upon fundamental principles of improvement, in their institutions. The fact is, the policy of the Jesuits was utterly selfish; they never had in view the permanent or the tem-

porary good of the Indians, any further than they could make them subservient to their own purposes and interests. These assertions can never be contradicted, when it is known that the Jesuits never taught them the Spanish language, nor even to write their own language, which the Jesuits themselves well understood.

NOTE 3. PAGE 19.

In Pinkerton's Geography, edited by Dr. Barton of Philadelphia, is given a specimen of the *Quechua* language, and it is said that it has the same formation as the Greek language, and that it is declined by altering the terminations, and that it has also modes and conjugations. It is also stated that it is deficient in the following letters ; b, d, f, g, r, x, z. Dr. Barton gives a specimen of the language taken from a Grammar printed at Lima in 1614, but I fear the notion of this deficiency is derived from ignorance of the pronunciation of the language, or from defects in the grammar. A native of Peru, I am well acquainted with this language, and can mention many instances in which these letters are used. The r, for instance, is found in *roona*—men, *roomee*—stone, *raka*—hollow ; there is a similar word in the Hebrew language, but with a different meaning ; the letter b occurs in the word *belu*—blood, z in *weekza*—stomach, x in *sorta*—seven. The use of these several letters depends upon the pronunciation of the language, which those who have excluded them from the language, could not have understood.

The *Quechua* language contains more vowels than consonants, which renders it particularly soft and sweet ; and I have seen very beautiful compositions written in this language by Peruvian Priests.

I will here present a short specimen of this language, to shew its peculiar sweetness. It is an effort of a Peruvian Priest to express the superlative excellence of the character of the Virgin Mary.

W mal-yea, soo-mak-nooste-alya, kancha-rene, inte-tapas, keel-gu-tapis, koil-ya-koona-tapas.--My sweet mother, beautiful young Princess, you are as brilliant as the sun, moon and stars.

This language is sufficiently copious for the Indians, in their present state of civilization, and even contains words to express abstract ideas. And here I cannot but express my surprise when I read in the history of the learned Dr. Robertson, that the "Peruvians had not indeed made such progress in observation or inquiry as to have attained just conceptions of the Deity; nor was there in their language any proper name or appellation of the Supreme Power, which intimated that they had formed any idea of him as Creator and Governor of the world." This error undoubtedly arose from this learned Historian's not understanding the meaning of the word *PACHACAMAK*. What word more proper to express the idea of the Supreme Being than this, which is the same as "God" in English, "Deus" in Latin, "Θεός" in Greek.

Pacha means *the Universe, or the globe which we inhabit*, and *Camak*, *Creator and Preserver*.

It was this unfortunate error which undoubtedly led the Spaniards to destroy the Temple of the Peruvians, dedicated to *Pachacamak*. And here I cannot but remark how different from the conduct of the Spanish Priests, was that of St. Paul, at Athens, on beholding a Temple dedicated to the "Unknown God:" "Whom ye ignorantly worship," said he to the Athenians, "him declare I unto you." The Spaniards destroyed with fire and sword the religion of the Incas, because it was unlike their own, or because they were ignorant of its principles, as if religion was not a universal sentiment of mankind, and an innate principle of the human heart; and indeed if religion is an attribute of the Deity, if it softens the heart, if it unites in the bonds of brotherhood, men of different characters and climes;—if, in short, it is the great tie of humanity, and is chiefly manifested in extended charities, in love to God and man, I would ask, where is the people who have exercised this sublime virtue, in a higher degree than the Peruvians? They worshipped the Sun, not because they believed it to be God, but because they felt its kindly influence upon the natural objects around them, and upon themselves, and their worship was the effusion of their grateful hearts. They were kind to the poor,

the widow and the orphan ; the care of these unfortunates was a part of their religion, and was enjoined by their laws. There were officers in every village, appointed for this object, and there are now to be seen in the country, the ruins of store-houses and public granaries, which were devoted to the support of the indigent.

It is a singular fact, that against two nations, the Peruvians and the Moors, both the most charitable people in the world, the Spanish Christians have waged the most calamitous warfare, and shed oceans of their blood. "They, (the Moors in Spain,) says MR. NOAH, in his interesting Travels in Europe and Africa, "had virtues of the highest order ; no nation on earth, even unto this day, took such delight in the exercise of charity as the Moors. They distributed to the poor, bread, money, and part of their agricultural and commercial products ; built hospitals for the sick, and carefully protected and nourished the stranger." "What just motive," says the virtuous Las Casas, "could the Spanish government have in declaring war against the Indians, who had never done them a wrong, or injustice in any manner ? The Spaniards have discovered the secret of entirely depopulating countries filled with inhabitants ; they have massacred them, in order to seize upon their gold and silver ; they have caused others to perish, by making them toil to excess, or by obliging them to carry heavy loads for one and two hundred leagues : so that for the sake of riches, they sacrificed the lives of the Indians."

When I have been walking among the ruins of their ancient castles, their solemn temples, their high roads, their aqueducts, which have withstood the mouldering hand of time, and the warring of the elements, I have asked myself, where are those powerful monarchs who patronized, those ingenious artists who erected these magnificent works ; where those splendid gardens, in which plants and animals of the natural size made of solid gold and silver were exhibited ; where their astronomical observatories ; where their mild and equal laws, their paternal government, their institutions of charity and religion ? I am answered by the whole world,—they have all perished by the hand of violence and superstition !

NOTE 4. PAGE 24.

The observation to which this note refers may startle those who have considered Peru a barbarous country at the period of the conquest. If such, however, will carry back their recollections of the history of Europe to the period under consideration, they will find that despotism never marched over the liberties of mankind with strides more fearful and tremendous. The period, indeed, presents us with a constellation of greatness unrivalled in the annals of the world; but it presents us also with the extremes of superstition, bigotry, violence and oppression,—traits which are too often the characteristics of the brightest and noblest endowments of the mind. The brilliancy of the era ought not to dazzle us so far as to blind us to the miseries which overspread the whole of what was then called the civilized world. The expedition of Pizarro to the Pacific Coast of South America, was during the reign of Charles V, who was Sovereign of Austria, Germany, Prussia, Holland, the Netherlands, Spain, and some of the Italian States; Francis I. governed France; Henry VIII. England; Solyman II. Turkey; Leo X. was Pope. A list of contemporaneous sovereigns, such as these, is “confirmation strong,” of the truth of the position, and the most skeptical will not be disposed to travel further. Another consideration still more strongly enforces the idea of the tyranny of the times. It was during the reign of Charles V. that the Reformation was effected, an event so glorious and beneficial to the Christian world, and within about ten years after his abdication, the Low Countries rebelled, and gained their independence. Revolutions are generally the result of actual, or at least, fancied oppression; and in regard to the reality of the oppression, both in Church and State, under Leo X. and Charles V. there cannot, I imagine, be a question raised.

It is not contended that the government of the Incas was free from evils. The Peruvians were essentially free; they exercised the right of self-government, and lived under rulers of their choice, and the history of Peru, even as related by the Spaniards,

records no feature of systematic oppression, or of wanton encroachment, by the Incas, on the rights of the people.

In confirmation of the above opinions, and in contradiction to some assertions of Dr. Robertson, contained in his History of America, the following extract from COUNT CARLY'S LET. AMER. is submitted to the reader.

“It was a fundamental maxim of the sovereigns of Peru, to oblige their subjects *to be happy*. This was the only empire in which this glorious object was attained. The Incas knew well, that man is governed by opinion more easily than by force. In the hands of a discreet ruler, the government of opinion, is a source of blessings, but it is a terrible engine when wielded by the ignorant; hence the danger and difficulty of opposing error. For this reason the first care of the Incas was, to impress upon the people who submitted themselves to their authority, that there was one Supreme Being, the Creator and Preserver of the Universe, and that the Sun was the source of physical good, the cause of the fecundity of the earth, and of the growth of all productions, both animal and vegetable. These people being persuaded by Manco Capac and Ocllo his queen, that their existence was derived from the Sun, the same idea was transmitted to their posterity; and the Peruvians believed generally that their sovereigns were descended directly from these children of the Sun. The laws of the Incas, being directed solely to the well-being of individuals and of society at large, it is natural that they should have been regarded by these people as beings emanating from Divinity, and they persuaded themselves that the infraction of these laws would be punished both in this world and that to come, which was also unceasingly inculcated by the chief men of the empire. * The worship of the Peruvians, as established by the Incas, was innocent and pure, the spirit of which led them to abolish human sacrifices. The first maxim that was impressed upon them, was that great maxim of reason, *Look upon all men as brethren, and never do that to another, which one would not wish to have done to himself.*”

NOTE 5. PAGE 25.

TUPAC-AMARU.

The revolution of Tupac-Amaru, which was briefly noticed in the body of this work, has been misrepresented by historians, and great injustice has been done to the memory of that illustrious leader. Baron de Humboldt is incorrect in his biographical notice of Tupac-Amaru, having listened to the vulgar tales of the Spaniards, which he heard at Lima, in relation to his character. He speaks of him thus, "Jose Gabriel Condorcanqui, known by the name of the Inca Tupac-Amaru, appeared at the head of an Indian army before the walls of Cuzco. He was the son of the Cacique of Tongasuca, a village of the Province of Tinta, or *rather the son of the Cacique's wife*; for it is *certain* that the pretended Inca was a Meztizo, and that his true father was a monk;" and he imputes his conduct to private resentment for disappointed ambition, and to a sentiment of vengeance."

Dean Funes, in his "History of Buenos Ayres," has correctly related the story of this revolution, the first part of which he has taken from a sketch drawn up by Mr. Sea and myself, and published in London, in 1815.

The principal cause of this revolution, was the oppressive operation of a law authorizing the Spanish magistrates to distribute among the people, foreign goods at fixed prices, and which they were obliged to pay for, whether they wanted them or not. This was called the *repartimientos*. It was oppressive beyond measure, to the Indians; goods of no use to them, were forced upon them, even *cambrick needles, spectacles, and playing cards*. It was this unheard-of species of oppression, among many other acts of tyranny, enumerated in the masterly letter of Tupac-Amaru addressed to Areche, and which has been published, which aroused the principal inhabitants of Peru in 1780, to the attempt to put down the Spanish government in that country. The project was conceived by several of the noblest citizens of Cuzco, whose leader was *Moscoso*, then Bishop of Cuzco, a native of Arequipa, and of one of the most noble families of Peru, and

who has since been Archbishop of Granada, in Spain. Tupac Amaru was the person who was selected to carry this project into execution, and he was promised the zealous co-operation of the principal inhabitants of Cuzco; upon which assurance he relied with the unsuspecting confidence of a soldier. The first step which he took, was to seize upon the Governor of his province, Arriaga; and finding from his papers, that he had distributed among the people, three times the amount of goods which the law allowed, accused him of robbing the people and the King, and he was executed in the name of the King, as a public robber. This took place in November 1780, and instantly all Peru was in arms. A bloody battle was fought on the plains of Sangarara, near Cuzco, in which the Spaniards were all cut off, and the victorious leader, with his brows bound with the imperial fillet of the Incas, marched upon Cuzco, to re-establish their empire in their ancient metropolis. He laid siege to the city, and called upon the projectors of the revolution to aid him now in its final accomplishment. They hesitated for a few days, and all was lost. Tupac-Amaru, conscious that his fate was sealed, addressed to them a letter, upbraiding them for their bad faith and their cowardice, and telling them that he should be destroyed. He thereupon retired to his former positions. Now the work of blood commenced in earnest, and notwithstanding the orders of Tupac-Amaru to put to death only Spaniards, and to spare the *ercoles*, the half civilized Indians killed indiscriminately all white men, and it was this unfortunate circumstance which was finally the ruin of the cause. The revolution now spread all over Peru, and lasted nearly two years; it was one of the most sanguinary contests that history records. In vain did Tupac-Amaru and his friends endeavour to stop the violence of the people; they had kindled a fire which they had not power to extinguish, and regretting it when too late, made overtures of peace, which were rejected with disdain. At length Tupac-Amaru fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and they inflicted upon him a punishment which is a stain upon their national character;—like blood-thirsty and ferocious tygers, they tore him limb from limb!

The present revolution has done justice to the memory of this youthful hero; had he been successful, he would have been hail-

ed as the saviour of his country ; and although his first act was marked with severity, and fortune smiled not on him, let his name be rescued from the foul and unmanly aspersions of his interested and malignant foes.

I have stated that a third of the whole population of Peru, perished by the hand of violence in this revolution. The slaughter among the Indians was immense. They were ignorant of military discipline, had but a few fire-arms, and were principally armed with slings. The royal army from Buenos Ayres, Tucuman, and Cochabamba, consisted of regular troops. The Buenos Ayreans were armed and equipped like European soldiers ; the Tucumans composed the cavalry, and were armed with butcher knives and ropes, from twenty-five to thirty yards long, which they use in catching wild cattle. The arms of the Cochabambians, were short clubs loaded with lead, to which a rope of two or three yards in length was fastened, and which were used like slings, and were very deadly weapons. The Indians were scattered all over the plains, in no regular order or ranks, and were nothing more than an undisciplined and unarmed mob. The mode of attacking them was as follows ; the Tucuman horsemen first rode among the Indians, and threw them down with their ropes, and the Cochabambians followed with their clubs and dispatched them ; it was in this way that the plains of Cica-Cica and Calamarea were covered with the bodies of the slain, and are even to this day whitened with human bones.

NOTE 6. PAGE 143.

MITA.

The *mita* was an annual conscription of the Indians to work in the mines of privileged individuals at Potosi, and for the king in the quicksilver mines of Huancavelica. The Indians were collected from a distance of three hundred leagues around Potosi, even from the neighbourhood of Cuzco, and were obliged to defray their own expenses in travelling ;—after arriving at the mines, they received half a dollar a day for their labour, and were obliged to work night and day. The Governor of Puno, Don Jose Gonzales, a very worthy man, now in Spain, put a stop

to these cruel conscriptions in his Province, well knowing their injustice, although contrary to the orders of the Viceroy. The Dictionary of the Spanish Academy, in defining the word *mita*, says, “es un repartimiento que se hace por sorteo en los pñeblos de indios para sacar el numero correspondiente de vecinos que deben emplearse en los trabajos publicos.” *It is the division which is made by lot in the villages of the Indians, in order to take the corresponding number of the inhabitants which ought to be employed in the public works.*”

A person, ignorant of the truth, on reading this definition, might imagine that these *public works* were of common utility ; such as roads, bridges, &c. which are often made by the labour of the whole community ; but, this was not the fact : for it was for the rich miners of Potosi, that these poor Indians came so far to work, and digging the mines, were the *public works* in which the Academy say they *ought to be employed*. I take pleasure in having an opportunity to expose this fraud of the learned Academy upon the world. It exhibits, in bold relief, the colonial policy of the Spanish government, from whose poisonous influence, even the sacred haunts of science, were not exempt.

NOTE 7. PAGE 153.

MINES.

The mines of gold, silver, copper and lead, are the property of individuals ;—the quicksilver mine of Huancavelica was worked on the account of the King, who monopolizes the sale of that metal. All the questions in relation to mining are determined according to a particular code of laws, called *Ordenanzas de minas*, which were framed by the viceroy Toledo. This was the monster who put to death the Inca Sayri Tupac at Vilcabamba, against the express orders of Philip II. for which, on his return to Spain, he was severely censured, and finally died in disgrace. In this code is pointed out every thing relating to the discovery of mines, the manner of acquiring property in them, and all dis-

putes growing out of the subject. When a person discovers a mine, he makes application to the political chief of the territory for an exclusive grant, which he obtains, on exhibiting a piece of the ore from the mine. The officer, after ascertaining that the mine has never been worked, grants the discoverer possession, and free permission to work the mine, and allowing him the privilege of opening three different shafts. After this privilege allowed to the discoverer, any person may ask and obtain permission to open other shafts, provided they do not interfere with those previously granted. The discoverers are generally mestizos or Indians, who, for trifling sums, sell their rights to the wealthy Spaniards or Creoles. The same code requires that the mines be constantly worked, or held in possession; when a mine is abandoned for a year, it is considered as derelict, and any person may take possession of it. To prevent this forfeiture for *non-user*, however, it is sufficient if one person is kept in possession. When mines are discovered on private property, the proprietor is obliged to allow them to be worked, or to sell. These laws have a tendency to encourage mining; they are judiciously framed, and are perhaps the best part of the colonial policy of Spain. The remedies are prompt, and their provisions will meet almost every possible case. Previous to the revolution, no foreigner could be proprietor of a mine, but now the Congress of the United Provinces has placed foreigners on the same footing as natives in this respect.

NOTE 8. PAGE 162.

TADEO HAENKE.

This gentleman, a member of the Academy of Sciences of Prague and Vienna, visited America in the mineralogical expedition of the *Baron de Nordenflytch*, in the quality of naturalist to his Catholic Majesty. In the year 1792 he accompanied the celebrated navigator *Malaspina*, in his expedition to explore the Pacific Ocean. He has visited all Asia, the principal countries of Europe, the United States, Mexico, Peru and Chili, and after having seen all these countries, he finally fixed his

residence in the Province of Cochabamba, preferring it to all the other regions of the globe which he had visited. He is a philosopher, and his time has been employed in exploring the country, and studying every department of its history. He has made an extensive collection of all its productions. In the year 1810, when the auxiliary army of Buenos Ayres occupied Upper Peru, *M. Castelli* found this philosopher there, and that he had composed a large work upon the natural history of the country. Castelli immediately took measures to have types founded at Potosi, in order to print the work, but the sudden defeat of the Patriots put an end to the project. *Don Manuel Sarratea*, distinguished for his talents, and his devotion to the cause of his country, and his love of science, (and to whose worth I take great pleasure in bearing this public testimony, and whose friendship I am proud to enjoy,) when he was in the administration at Buenos Ayres, made every exertion to communicate with *Haenke*, in order to procure his manuscript to publish it in London, but without effect, as Cochabamba, during almost the whole of the revolution, has been occupied by royal troops. It is to be hoped that, upon the success of the Patriots, the publication of this work, so interesting to the world, will not be delayed.

To Mr. Sarratea is owed the introduction of many plants and valuable productions into Buenos Ayres; and particularly, the emigration of the celebrated M. Bonpland to South America, who carried with him his *herbarium*, and many precious exotics to enrich the country. M. Bonpland upon communicating with Haenke, will immediately publish the natural history of the country, and a work of much interest may be expected from the united efforts of these learned men.

From Mr. Haenke's communications to the government of Buenos Ayres in 1799, and several articles published from time to time, in the public journals of that city, I have derived many facts, of which I have availed myself, in my account of the natural productions of Upper Peru.

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Gold and silver mines,--quicksilver,--quantity of the precious metals annually extracted,--their influence upon national industry,--climate of Upper Peru, --particular account of it, page 212,--soil and productions, page 215,--mineral substances,--vegetable substances, page 219,--animal substances, page 223 ;--Llama ;--Alpacha ;--Guanaco ;--Vicuna,--Cochineal,--fur,--plumage,--wheat,--sugar,--cattle,--fruit,--commerce, page 231, to the end.

ERRATA.

- Page 71, line 12, for "Caraugas" read *Carangas*.
— 78, line 12, for "Charasain" and "Consonata" read *Charasani*, and
Consula.
— 89, line 10, after the word "third" read *to eat flesh in Lent; and the*
fourth.
— 94, line 20, "eleven" read *sixteen*.
— 125, line 16, for "17°" read 19°.
— 127, line 29, for "Chayanta" read *Chichas*.
— 132, line 2, for "westward" read *eastward*.
— Same page, line 9, for "Bermejo" read *Paraguay*, and after "north"
read *The Bermejo*.
— Same page, line 10, after "Salta" read *rises*.
— 136, line 28, for "and" read *to*.
— 197, line 28, for "600,000" read 60,000.

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